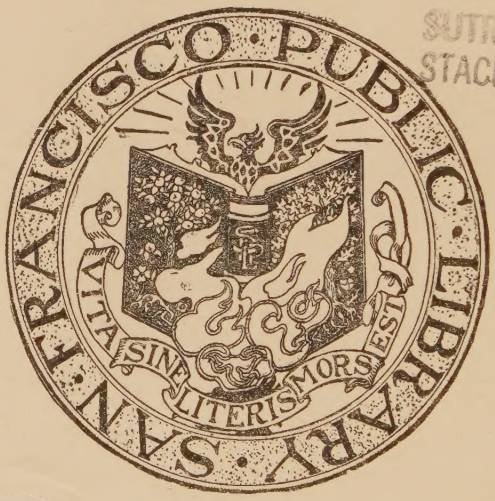

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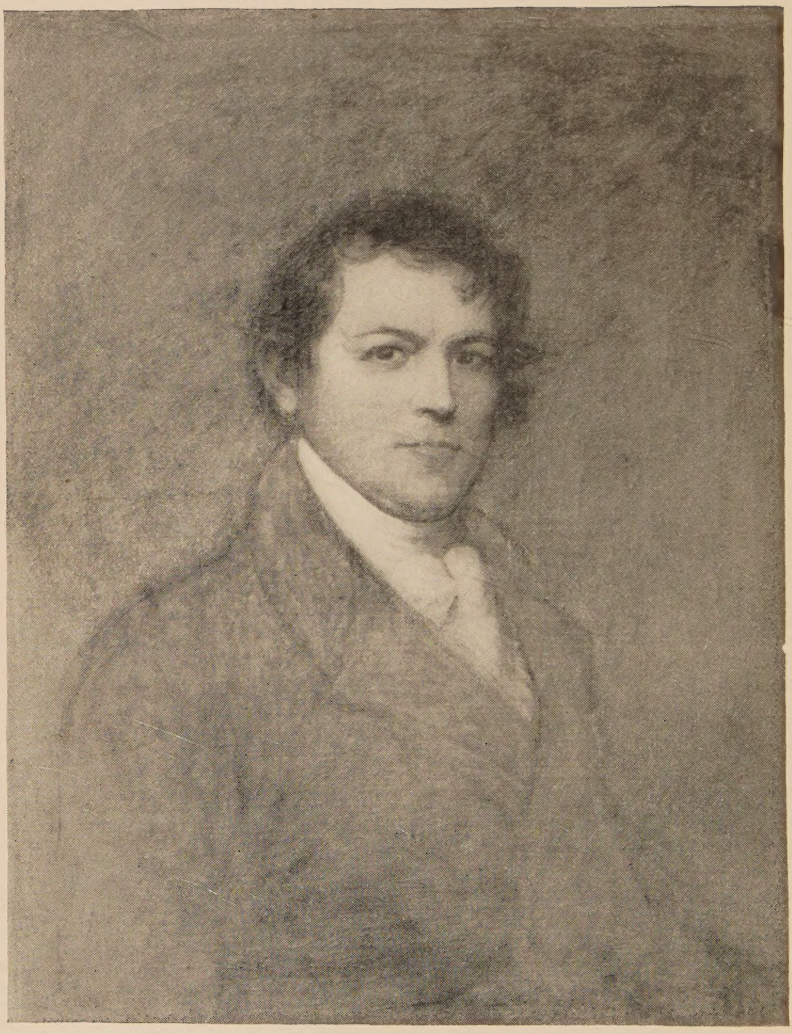

RICHARD CUTTS.

From a Portrait by Stuart.

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RICHARD CUTTS

RICHARD CUTTS.

BY REV. HENRY S. BURRAGE, D. D.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, October 29, 1896.

For two centuries and a half the name of Cutts has been a prominent one in the annals of Maine. Those who brought this name to our shores came from England about the middle of the seventeenth century. John and Richard, both in their young manhood, settled at Strawberry Bank, now Portsmouth, near the mouth of the Piscataqua, prior to 1646. Bringing with them capital to some extent, they became leading merchants and at length the wealthiest men in the colony. John was made a member of the Council for the government of the Province, and in 1679, by royal appointment, he became the first president of the Province.

Robert Cutts, a brother of John and Richard, came to the Piscataqua a few years later. For a while he resided in Portsmouth, in the Great House which had been the residence of Richard Cutts, but which was originally built by the first settlers as the manor house of John Mason, the grantee of the Province. Later, he was probably in business a short time at Newcastle, and then he took up his residence at Kittery, where he established a shipyard, and according to Brewster

"built a large number of vessels." A man of prominence in the community, he was called to positions of honor and influence. In 1665, with his neighbor, Capt. Francis Champernowne, he was appointed a justice of the peace, and the two were authorized to manage jointly the affairs of that part of the Province of Maine. Robert Cutts died at Kittery, June 18, 1674.

Richard Cutts of Saco, the subject of this paper, who was a member of the Congress of the United States from the District of Maine from 1801 to 1813, was a descendant of Robert Cutts of Kittery in the fourth generation. The following is the line of descent: —

Robert Cutts — Mary Hoel.
|
Robert Cutts — Joanna Wills.
|
Richard Cutts — Eunice Curtis.
|
Thomas Cutts — Elizabeth Scammon.
|
Richard Cutts — Anna Payne.

Col. Thomas Cutts, the father of Richard Cutts, was the youngest son of Dea. Richard Cutts of Kittery, where he was born April 5, 1736. Having received a mercantile education in the counting-room of Sir William Pepperrell, he was in some way, probably by

business relations already existing, led to think of Saco (then known by the name of Pepperrellboro) as a favorable location for business enterprise; and when twenty-two years of age, with one hundred dollars capital borrowed from his father, he made his way thither, and at once engaged in trading on a small scale. Prospering in his plans, and practising the most rigid economy, he was soon able to discharge his indebtedness to his father, and with constantly accumulating resources he devoted himself to more extensive operations. With true business sagacity he had established himself upon Indian Island, at Saco, as offering exceptional advantages for trading purposes, and in the summer of 1759, he purchased a part of the island for ninety dollars. Not long after, near the shore of the river on the southwestern side of the island, he erected a small building, which he used both as a store and a dwelling. This building is still standing near the office of Atwood's coal wharf, and is occupied as a tenement-house. Here Thomas Cutts, who was married August 21, 1762,[1] brought his young wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Dominicus and Rebecca (Smith) Scammon of Saco; and here he resided twenty years, his eight children, except the youngest, Eunice, being born in this house.

Meanwhile his business was assuming larger and larger proportions. He was a ship-builder, and before the Revolution he had an extensive and profitable timber trade with the West India Islands. The larger part of Indian Island at length came into his posses-

[1] The Cutts Genealogy says also Aug. 24, 1762.

sion, and was known as Cutts' Island. For Sir William Pepperrell's half of the island he paid one thousand dollars in 1774. During the Revolution Thomas Cutts was loyal to the patriot cause, although his private interests greatly suffered on account of the war. In 1777, he represented Saco and Biddeford in the Provincial Congress. Near the close of the war, on the highest part of the island, from which there is a fine view of the river and the country on either side, he commenced the erection of a large gambrel roof mansion. To this he removed his family in 1782, and it was his home for the remainder of his life. The house is still standing and is occupied as a dwelling-house. A large part of the slope of the hill on the southwesterly side has been cut away, and the clay taken from it was used in making the brick with which the York Mills were erected. Doubtless the cutting away of the slope became necessary when the grade of the street at the foot of the hill was changed Otherwise the place in its general features remains as it was, and no stretch of the imagination is required on the part of the visitor at the present day who seeks to recall the busy scenes of a century and more ago, when Col. Thomas Cutts made Indian Island the center of large business enterprises at home and abroad.

Col. Thomas Cutts died January 10, 1821, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, and eighteen years after the death of his wife, which occurred January 11, 1803. There are full-length, life-size panel portraits of Col. Cutts and his wife in the York Institute, Saco.

Richard Cutts, the fifth of the eight children of

Col. Thomas Cutts, was born June 28, 1771. At an early age, entering upon a course of training for a professional life, he was admitted to Harvard College when fifteen years of age and was graduated in 1790. Among his classmates were Josiah Quincy, who became a member of Congress from Massachusetts in 1804, Samuel C. Crafts, a member of Congress from Vermont and governor of that state, and George Sullivan, a member of Congress from New Hampshire. After his graduation at Harvard, Richard Cutts commenced the study of law, but the bent of his mind was not fully determined, and abandoning his legal studies he devoted himself for a while to the pursuits in which his father was engaged. Then he visited Europe, probably making the voyage across the Atlantic in one of his father's vessels. After spending some time in the Old World, studying life and manners and enriching his mind with knowledge derived from books and men, he returned to Saco. He soon became interested in political affairs, and for two terms he served as a member of the General Court of Massachusetts.

Hon. George Thatcher, who came from York to Biddeford in 1782, represented the district in the Congress of the United States from the adoption of the Federal constitution until 1801, when he received an appointment as associate justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. This he accepted and his seat in Congress accordingly became vacant. At Mr. Thatcher's last election as a member of Congress, November 3, 1800, Richard Cutts had been a

formidable competitor. His own town of Pepperrellboro gave him one hundred and forty-one votes to one for Mr. Thatcher. Wells, however, gave Mr. Thatcher one hundred and fifteen votes to six for Mr. Cutts, and the total as recorded in Jenks' Portland Gazette for November 10, was four hundred and ten votes for Mr. Thatcher and three hundred and eleven for Mr. Cutts. Mr. Cutts, who was a Republican, now again became a candidate for congressional honors. A spirited campaign followed, if one may judge from the references to it in the newspapers of the day. Benjamin Greene of Berwick, a Federalist, was mentioned in one of these as a suitable candidate. He was characterized as a man who would "follow with undeviating step the path of his predecessor," as one whose "judgment is matured by experience," as "well acquainted with the interests of the community," and as one who "believes not in twenty Gods, but in one." John Lord of Berwick was also mentioned as worthy of the support of the electors of the district. It was claimed that he would be the successful candidate. "In communicating this intelligence," says the writer in the Portland Gazette, "I feel highly gratified, as Mr. Lord is not only deserving of every honor and distinction that his fellow citizens can bestow, but happily possesses talents peculiarly fitting him for the arduous and important office which awaits him."

But this prophecy, like many another political prophecy, before and since, was not fulfilled. The election was held early in July (probably the 6th), 1801,

and Richard Cutts was declared elected as Judge Thatcher's successor. There were some newspaper protests, however. A correspondent of Jenks' Portland Gazette wrote: "Although Mr. Cutts of Pepperrellboro, it is said, is to go to Congress to supply the place of Mr. Thatcher, yet he is not chosen by the people, because there are six or seven towns in the county which have not received precepts for calling meetings, and by that means have been actually deprived of voting." Others referred to Mr. Cutts' election as a "Jacobin fraud." No notice seems to have been taken of these protests, and they may doubtless be regarded as the outburst of disappointed politicians at the close of a somewhat heated and exciting campaign.

The sessions of the Seventh Congress were opened in the city of Washington on Wednesday, December 7, 1801. Richard Cutts, then thirty years of age, was present in the House on that day with his credentials and took his seat. Nathaniel Macon, one of the representatives from the state of North Carolina, was elected speaker. On the following day Mr. Cutts and Mr. Abram Trigg were appointed a committee on enrolled bills to serve with a like committee appointed by the Senate; not long after he was made a member of a committee to inquire whether any and, if any, what addition it may be necessary to make to the military stores of the United States.

A sectional discussion was precipitated early in the session by the introduction of a bill to amend the act entitled "An act respecting fugitives from justice and

persons escaping from the service of their masters." January 14 and 15, 1802, the House went into the committee of the whole for the consideration of this bill, which inflicted a penalty of five hundred dollars on any person harboring, concealing or employing runaway slaves. Every person employing a black person, unless he had a certificate with a county seal attached to it, was made liable to the penalty. The bill was opposed in the committee of the whole by Messrs. Varnum of Massachusetts, Bacon of Massachusetts, T. Morris of New York, Eustis of Massachusetts, Smilie of Pennsylvania, Goddard of Connecticut, Dana of Connecticut, Hemphill of Pennsylvania, and Southard of New Jersey. They did not deem it right that one who employed a black person, a stranger, and did not, within a month, publish in two newspapers an advertisement giving a description of the person so employed, as the bill required, should subject himself to a fine of five hundred dollars. They would not compel every free person of color in the Middle and Eastern states to procure and carry about with him such a certificate as the bill made necessary. The bill was supported by Messrs. Nicholson of Maryland, Huger of South Carolina, Rutledge of South Carolina, Van Ness of New York, Clairborne of Virginia, and Holland of North Carolina. Fugitive slaves, they insisted, were employed in the Middle and Northern States and even assisted in obtaining a living. They said that when slaves ran away and were not recovered, those who remained became discontented. When they were caught and returned they brought favorable

reports of their reception in the North, and this incited others to attempt to escape.

The bill was reported to the House and amendments proposed in the committee were discussed, but the House adjourned before the discussion was brought to a close. On the 18th, the House resumed the consideration of these amendments, and, on the motion that the bill as amended pass to be engrossed, there were forty-six nays to forty-three yeas, and the bill was accordingly rejected. Mr. Cutts, as a new member, took no part in the discussion, but voted with the opponents of the bill. At the very beginning of his service in the National House, therefore, it was his to catch the first mutterings of the storm which at length was to burst in fury, threatening the nation with disaster and ruin.

The recorded votes on all important matters that came before the Seventh Congress reveal the fact that Mr. Cutts was present and discharged his duties faithfully and intelligently. His course evidently gave satisfaction to his constituents and he was reelected in the fall of 1803 and took his seat in the Eighth Congress.[1] February 22, 1804, a message from the President of the United States, communicating a report of the surveyor of public buildings, was referred to a committee of which Mr. Cutts was made a member.

[1] The District of Maine had in the Eighth Congress as many representatives as the state of Maine has at the present time. Besides Richard Cutts there were elected to this Congress Peleg Wadsworth, Samuel Thatcher and Phineas Bruce. The latter, the first lawyer who engaged in practise in the county of Washington, did not take his seat on account of a severe attack of hypochondriasis to which he had been subject. Before the close of his term he became unsound of mind, and continued so until his death in Uxbridge, Massachusetts, October 4, 1809. He was born in Mendon, Massachusetts, June 7, 1762, was graduated at Yale in 1786, and after being admitted to the bar established himself at Machias in 1790.

March 6, 1804, an act for improving navigation in the James River was read and referred to Mr. Clapton, Mr. Cutts and Mr. Conrad.

In April, shortly after the close of the first session of the Eighth Congress (the session closed March 27, 1804), Mr. Cutts was married to Anna Payne, a sister of Dolly Madison, the wife of James Madison, then Secretary of State, afterward President of the United States. Anna Payne was a member of her sister's family, and a great favorite in Washington society. Gilbert Stuart painted her portrait, and one day, at a sitting, she complained that it was really too bad that he had never painted a portrait of himself. The artist at once, with a few swift yet skilful touches of his brush introduced a caricature of his own features as a part of the drapery which at the time he was painting.

The father of Anna Payne was John Payne, a native of Virginia, who removed to North Carolina, where he married Mary, daughter of William Coles. Not long after his marriage he returned to Virginia, and settled upon an estate in Hanover County. Here, in a mansion somewhat more pretentious than its neighbors (according to Mrs. Madison's remembrance of it), John Payne made his home. Having become a convert to Quakerism, however, he found his native Virginia uncongenial to him, and disposing of his estate at length he removed with his family to Philadelphia. Here Dolly Payne married John Todd, also a member of the Society of Friends, and two years

later her younger sister, Lucy, at the age of fifteen, married George Steptoe Washington, a nephew of the President. Mr. Payne died in 1792, and John Todd, who in the following year was stricken with the plague while attending his dying father and mother, returned to his home to die, bringing the dreaded disease to his own family. When Dolly Todd recovered, she found herself a widow with one child. The seat of government was at that time in Philadelphia, and James Madison at length made Mrs. Todd's acquaintance. An engagement followed, and September 15, 1794, Dolly Payne Todd and James Madison were married at Harewood, Virginia, the residence of Mrs. Todd's sister, Mrs. George Steptoe Washington.

Anna Payne was then twelve years of age. She was twenty-two when she was married to Richard Cutts. So long had she been a member of Mrs. Madison's household, that her separation from it by her marriage was a matter of deep regret both to Mr. and Mrs. Madison. The latest biographer of Dolly Madison describes Richard Cutts at the time of his marriage as "a dark-haired, broad-browed, handsome young man . . . . regarded with favor by many bright eyes in Washington, and quite a squire of dames at home and abroad"; and she adds: "Mr. and Mrs. Madison appear to have been entirely satisfied with the character and position of Mr. Cutts, but to Mrs. Madison it was a trial to give up even partially the sister who had been like a daughter to her,

and the District of Maine where Anna must look forward to making her future home was farther from Virginia than it is to-day from Alaska." [1]

The wedding was made the social event of the season. The presents were numerous, and according to the custom of the time they were largely the work of those who gave them or were planned by them, and consisted of embroidery, paintings, etc. The wife of the Russian minister, Madame Daschcoff, sent the usual wedding present in Russia, two wine coolers, one filled with salt, the other with bread, the staff of life.

After the wedding, Mr. Cutts and his bride departed in a carriage for their northern home. Mrs. Madison after their departure, wrote to a friend: "One of the greatest griefs of my life has come to me in parting for the first time from my sister-child," and she followed the young couple on their long journey with messages of love, and reports of public and private matters at the capital. She noticed the visit of Baron von Humboldt, the Fourth of July oration of John P. Van Ness, a member of Congress from New York, and in a single sentence of a letter dated July 16, 1804, she mentioned the terrible tragedy which had awakened a thrill of horror in all parts of the land — "You have no doubt heard of the terrible duel and death of poor Hamilton."

It was doubtless about this time that Richard Cutts erected the house at Saco which became his home

[1] Dolly Madison by Maud Wilder Goodwin, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896, p. 99.

during the remainder of his residence in that place. It was a large, square house with front door in the middle, and stood on the site now occupied by the Saco and Biddeford Savings Bank, and near the storehouse of the York Manufacturing Company. In the campaign that preceded the first election of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States, Stephen A. Douglas, Mr. Lincoln's competitor, came to Saco to deliver a political address. A platform was erected from which the address was to be delivered, and W. P. Haines, Esq., in introducing Mr. Douglas (who had married November 20, 1856, Adele, daughter of James Madison Cutts, a son of Richard Cutts) said that the spot selected for the erection of this platform was near the site of the house in which the grandfather of Mr. Douglas wife once lived. It was a pleasant location for a dwelling. In front of it were two terraces, and there was a large orchard in the rear. But with all its attractiveness, it could hardly have endeared itself to Mrs. Cutts, whose life had been spent amid very different surroundings. Mrs. Madison once wrote to her from her Virginia home, Montpellier: "I wish, dearest, you had just such a country home as this. I truly believe it is the happiest and most true life, and would be the best for you and for your children." Doubtless in these words there was not even a remote reference to Saco, but in all probability we shall not greatly err if we suppose that Mrs. Cutts never came to regard her residence in the far-away District of Maine as her home. Her interests were elsewhere, and more and more as the

years rolled on this became true of the interests of Mr. Cutts also.

At the opening of the Ninth Congress, December 2, 1805, Mr. Cutts was made a member of the committee on accounts. June 22, 1809, while a member of the Tenth Congress, Mr. Cutts made his first extended speech on a bill to reduce the naval establishment. The bill provided: —

> That the President of the United States, in the event of a favorable change in our foreign relations, be, and he is hereby, authorized to cause to be discharged from actual service, and laid up in ordinary, such of the frigates and public armed vessels, as, in his judgment, a due regard to the public security and interest will permit; and that so much of the first section of an act, entitled "An act to authorize the employment of an additional naval force," passed at the last session of Congress, as requires the public armed vessels to be stationed on the seacoast of the United States and territories thereof, be, and the same is hereby repealed.

It was moved to amend the bill by inserting after the word *authorized*, the following: —

> To cause to be sold all the gunboats belonging to the United States, except such as he may judge requisite for the public service; and also.

Mr. Cutts, in addressing the House, said: —

> He had hoped that this subject would be permitted to sleep. The committee who reported this bill were opposed to selling the gunboats. When the bill was taken up, he added, I had no idea that the question would be agitated; but since it has been brought forward, I will make a few observations upon it.
>
> The gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. Pitkin) has told you, that to keep a fifty-six gun frigate in service for a year will require $120,000, and to keep fifty-six gunboats for the same time will require $670,000. I differ with him materially. The cost may be greater, but not so disproportionate. If the gentleman had pointed out a single instance

in which it had been proved that gunboats were not useful, I should have listened to him with attention. But neither he nor his colleague (Mr. Dana) who has pushed them out to sea on service for which they were not intended, said anything of that kind. From my knowledge of naval tactics, I can say that, in some situations, I had rather have five gunboats than a frigate. The great advantage of gunboats is, that they will carry heavier metal. Whenever an enemy attempts to come into your waters, they will always take into calculation their chances of success or defeat. The tide may turn; they may be becalmed, in which case five gunboats, carrying two and thirty pounders, will be of much more service than a frigate. Perhaps, when an enemy's fleet actually enters our waters, and arrives at the place of its destination, the wind may blow so strong, and the tide run so swift, that they cannot get a spring upon their cables to enable them to fire a broadside. The gunboats, lying in the shoal or calm waters, can lie at a greater distance, and yet from their weight of metal keep the frigates within range of their own guns; they are low, and can take aim with greater certainty than a frigate; and from the smallness of their bulk, even within range of the frigate's guns, are scarcely tangible. I have seen a debate in the British Parliament, in which the British ministry were censured for not protecting the commerce of the Mediterranean. It was said, in reply to the charge, that the whole British navy could not protect it against gunboats.

It will be recollected, continued Mr. Cutts, that when the boats are laid up in ordinary, the expense will not be great. The Secretary of the Navy has given an opinion of the expense; but I must be permitted to say that I know a little of the subject myself. I believe the expense will not be so great as it is stated. Suppose these gunboats were to be sold, and that, from any change in our foreign relations, they should be wanted this fall. In the first place, we shall have been at the expense of purchasing gunboats at $10,000 and have sold them at $500 each, and we shall have to appropriate as much money again for building them; and in the next place, it may not be possible to procure them before it is too late for any service.

Gentlemen attempt to deride them. This is a mode of decrying them which is resorted to from a defect of argument against them. It is said that sailors are dissatisfied with the gunboats. A sailor will, in every station, be dissatisfied, whether on board gunboats or frigates, and this is no argument against them. As to their rotting, I know a little about that too. The difference in their preservation between their being in actual service and in port, is very slight. And in respect to the utility of gunboats, I presume gentlemen will not put their knowledge in competition with that of the officers of the navy

and others who have given their opinions in favor of it. If gentlemen would not carry them out to sea, but consider them as a defense proper for bays and rivers, in that line they must be eminently useful. Officers, in service, no doubt like frigates better than gunboats, because every man had rather command a frigate than a gunboat. The gentleman from Connecticut tells you that the officers have no place to write or take an observation. In reply to that I would observe that the officers have but little writing to do, and that the proper place to take an observation is the deck and not the cabin.

My colleague (Mr. Livermore) says that the southern gentlemen are fond of this species of defense. I am, too; I think it one of the best. Gunboats are always ready, and men can be found on the spur of the occasion to man them. Frigates, however useful when in service, take some time to prepare them, and must be manned with good seamen. For these reasons I am opposed to the bill and hope it will not be adopted.

By a vote of seventy-three nays to fifty-three yeas the bill was not adopted.

In another speech, January 19, 1810, on the bill concerning commercial intercourse with Great Britain and France, styled "The American Navigation Act," Mr. Cutts spoke at considerable length.

He said that following the example of other gentlemen, he should, on this question, express his opinion on the principles contained in the bill now before the House; in doing this he felt some diffidence, as his sentiments on the operation of this bill were so different from those expressed on the previous day by the gentleman from New Hampshire; however he would proceed. When the embargo was given up the non-intercourse was substituted as a measure of coercion — of commercial restriction — and as a kind of protest against the British Orders in Council and French decrees. Experience has proved that the law cannot be executed; it has been evaded in almost every direction; its continuance seems to be given up by all parties. He had another and very serious objection to its continuance; its operation is partial, it bears particularly hard upon that part of the country which he had the honor to represent; the exports of that part of the country being principally confined to lumber, which was a bulky and cheap article, being wanted almost exclusively in British ports; that it would not bear the circuitous transportation; of course the non-intercourse was almost as effectual as an embargo upon that part of the country.

In relinquishing the non-intercourse, he viewed the principles contained in the present bill as forming a system more energetic than those contained in the non-intercourse law. They could be carried into execution. Gentlemen object to the third section of this bill; if retained, Great Britain will lay countervailing duties; she has already done it by her act of Parliament of last winter, laying additional and discriminating duties, which were first proposed as a transit duty, afterwards modified and made permanent by said act. It is true the operation of these discriminating duties has not yet been felt in this country. The embargo, non-intercourse, and the disavowal of the arrangement with Mr. Erskine, have prevented British ships from coming here and enjoying the whole carrying trade of this country. If the third section of this bill, which he considered as among its best features, and the only safeguard against British monopoly, together with all the commercial restrictions, were stricken out as advocated by the opponents of the bill, he would ask gentlemen what would be the practical operation as it respected American vessels. In his opinion it would operate in the following manner: For instance, take the article of cotton. The act of Parliament lays a duty of three and one-fourth pence per pound on cotton when imported in an American vessel, and two and one-sixteenth pence when imported in a British vessel; throw away the fraction, and say that the difference is a penny per pound; even this small sum will amount to a complete exclusion of American vessels from the carrying trade. A penny and a half per pound for cotton may be considered as a peace freight. Suppose a British and an American vessel of equal burden — say three hundred tons — should load in one of our southern ports with that article at one and one-half penny per pound, and go to a British port; such a vessel would probably make about $9,000 freight; the cotton on board an American vessel having to pay the additional duty, which at one penny per pound would amount to $6,000, would leave only $3,000 for the charter of the ship and disbursements, while the British ship not having the same duties to pay would make a net freight of $9,000. It is not to be presumed that any merchant will ship on board an American vessel under such circumstances, while a British vessel was to be had; of course ours must lay by the wharves until all the British are employed.

Gentlemen seem to intimate that there is no danger of British vessels coming to this country and entering into competition with ours. There can be no competition where the balance is so much in their favor, and they infer this from the documents laid on our tables, stating the small amount of foreign tonnage employed in the American trade. Are there no causes for this small amount of tonnage? The

embargo, non-intercourse, and the disavowal of Mr. Erskine's arrangement, together with the immense employment Great Britain has given of late to her surplus tonnage in the transport service, is the true cause of so few coming here. Has not the charter of her merchant ships risen from about sixteen to twenty-seven shillings per ton charter for the transport service? While under such pay they had no cause to seek other employment. He begged gentlemen to turn their attention to what might be the state of things provided that all the commercial restrictions should be stricken out of this bill, and that the ships of Great Britain should be excluded from Spain, Portugal and the Baltic ; that the transport service should be given up — will not an opening be presented to them in this country? Will they not flock here under the advantages of these discriminating duties, and take the whole carrying trade? What then will follow? Our ships, thrown out of the carrying trade, must lay at the wharves, or return to the lumber business, and by their number overstock the market.

Are gentlemen under no apprehension that, if they should do away with all commercial restrictions, and submit to the discriminating duties of Great Britain and her Orders in Council, that the continental powers will not consider this as abandoning the commercial rights of this country, for which we have been so long contending, and exclude us from their ports, as having submitted to all the British impositions? What then will be our situation? He believed it was a well acknowledged fact that, if the American commerce was excluded from the continent, the trade to England would not be worth a rush. Take for instance the article of tobacco; this country produces about eighty thousand hogsheads annually, and there is supposed to be a crop and a half on hand; Great Britain consumes annually about twelve thousands hogsheads. Prohibit the exportation of this article to the continent, it would pour into Great Britain in such quantities as to glut the market, and thereby reduce the price below the freight and charges. So of cotton and many other articles.

Great Britain has laid discriminating duties, and issued her orders in council interdicting our going to friendly ports. What does the provision in the third section of this bill say? For these acts your vessels shall not be permitted to enter our ports, thereby completely putting to rest the discriminating duties so far as they respect this country. He considered the exclusion of British merchant vessels as the most effectual and energetic measure that could be adopted. It was a measure that could be executed; if we cannot prevent the smuggling of goods we can prevent the smuggling of ships into our ports.

Gentlemen seem to be very much alarmed, lest Great Britain should countervail by shutting her ports to our vessels. This may or may not take place. If she can employ her shipping in any other trade she will not shut her ports to us, but consider the relaxation as beneficial to her, as it will give her the raw materials, the expenditure of much money in her ports, and take away her manufactures. If she cannot otherwise employ her shipping, and the third section remains in the bill, then it will have its effectual operation upon her — the stringent measure that we can adopt against her shipping interest. If the restrictions in the bill are stricken out, it is immaterial to the ship-holders of this country whether she shuts her ports to us, and thereby compels our vessels to lay at the wharves, or whether she sends such a quantity of shipping to this country under the advantage of her discriminating duties as to take the whole carrying trade to herself, the result is the same.

Mr. Cutts observed, that if British ships should be admitted freely into our ports with their present advantages, it would drive ours out of the market. They would be obliged to lay at the wharves, or to seek employment in the smuggling trade abroad, by taking British licenses and forged papers. He deprecated this as one of the worst of evils; it was ruinous to our national character; much of our present commercial embarassment arose from this source. He wished as far as possible to restore the honest carrying trade of the country. He wanted no advantage, only put us on an equal footing with other nations, and he believed we could enter into a successful competition.

He was utterly astonished to hear gentlemen from the northern states oppose the bill, who profess themselves friendly to commerce, especially some gentlemen, who have declared that they did not believe that Great Britain would retaliate by shutting her ports. If she does not shut her ports, what more could the northern ship-holders ask? The southern members are disposed to give, by this bill, to the northern ship-holders the exclusive privilege of carrying their produce to market in a complete monopoly. In this he presumed they would find their account in so doing. At present the freight from the ports of the United States to Amelia was about half a penny per pound; from Amelia to a British port four pence, so that the whole freight amounts to four pence half penny sterling per pound. If this bill should pass, it will have a tendency to reduce the price of freight very much — say one-half — in which event the northern tonnage will find good employment, and the southern produce carried to market for one half the present cost. At all events there will be a competion between the British vessels at Amelia and the American in our own ports.

As to the limitation of the bill, he was decidedly of the opinion that it ought to be limited to the next session of Congress. Yet he was almost afraid to vote against the present motion lest the motion made by the gentlemen who introduced this bill should obtain. The limitation of the bill to the end of this session of Congress would, in his opinion, destroy the bill; it would render it completely nugatory. He hoped the bill would pass in its present form and be limited to the next Congress.

The bill, to which this speech had reference was discussed at considerable length, and on Monday, January 29, 1810, it was passed by a vote of seventy-three yeas to fifty-two nays, Mr. Cutts recording his vote with the majority.

I have given this extended abstract of these two speeches by Mr. Cutts, as they were the most important that he delivered during his congressional career. A glance even at the proceedings of the House in the annals of Congress will reveal the fact that the speaking members at that early period of the government were few, and Mr. Cutts was not one of them.

The attitude of Great Britain with reference to American commerce which led to the passage of the Navigation Act remained unchanged. A further source of irritation between the two governments was the impressment of American seamen by the officers of British war vessels. The government of the United States insisted that Orders in Council should be repealed, that no illegal blockade should be substituted for them, and that directions should be given by the British government for the discontinuance of the impressment of American seamen. The war cloud, at first no larger than a man's hand, at length overspread the political heavens.

In the controversy that had arisen with England Madison, who took his seat as President in 1809, had pushed his pacific views to an extent that was not pleasing to many of the prominent members of the Republican party; and he came evidently only with reluctance to the position of the majority in Congress, who had passed bills putting the army and navy on a war footing. June 1, 1812, he transmitted a message to Congress in which he reviewed the long controversy with Great Britain, and foreshadowed more decided action upon the part of the executive. Public sentiment was divided. In Massachusetts the Legislature was in session. A majority of the House of Representatives was opposed to war, and addressed a memorial to the Congress of the United States in which they said: "We are firmly convinced that an immense majority of our constituents cannot be reconciled to the belief that an offensive war with Great Britain is demanded by the interests or the honor of our country." The evils of such a conflict were depicted, and the two houses of Congress were asked "to pause and rescue their country from war." The Republican members of the Massachusetts House of Representatives drew up a memorial of their own, which in reality was a vigorous protest against the memorial of the majority of that body. They doubted, they said, "the expediency as well as the constitutionality of addressing Congress on the subject of peace or war in the capacity of legislators;" and they set forth the harmful influence the memorial would exert at home and abroad. The memorial of the minority was

signed by William P. Walker, John Holmes, W. Story, E. G. Dodge, "in behalf of the Republican Representatives of Massachusetts whose names are signed to the protest" which had already been made to the Legislature.

Both of these memorials were presented in the National House of Representatives by Mr. Cutts on Thursday, June 18, 1812. On that very day war was declared both by the Senate and the House passing a bill, entitled, "An Act declaring war between Great Britain and her dependencies and the United States and her territories," and the same was approved by the President. The Governor of Massachusetts communicated the intelligence of the declaration of war to the General Court, June 23. Three days later a majority of the members of the House declared against the declaration, and expressed their opinion of its inexpediency, while the Senate took the opposite view, insisting that the action of Congress was just and necessary. The Senate shortly afterward issued an address to the people approving of the war. The House also issued an address, but of a different tone. "It must be evident to you," it said, "that a president who has made this war is not qualified to make peace; and that the men who have concurred in this act of desperation are pledged to persevere in this course, regardless of all consequences. Display, then, the majesty of the people in the exercise of your rights, and sacrificing all party feelings at the altar of your country's good, resolve to displace those who have abused their power and betrayed their trust."

Because of his vote in favor of the declaration of war, Mr. Cutts found on returning to Saco that many who had hitherto supported him were now unfriendly. He announced himself, however, as a candidate for reelection. In the *Eastern Argus* for October 22, 1812, appeared a communication urging the following reasons why he should be returned to Congress:

"1. Because he has been often tried and always found faithful; he is therefore a better man, as he is more experienced than one who never was a member of any legislative body.

"2. Because he is a merchant, and so interested in commerce, that he must be a friend to commerce and honorable peace.

"3. Because he always has supported those measures which he thought the good of his country required, even though those measures were injurious to his own private interests. This proves him the disinterested patriot, who acts not for his own individual interest, but the good of his country.

"4. Because as a merchant, he will represent the united interests of the farmer, the merchant and mechanic.

"5. Because he thinks an honorable war (such as our fathers fought in 1775) preferable to a disgraceful, colonial submission to the tyrannical orders and practices of Great Britain, and is willing to sacrifice his own property in this second struggle for independence.

"6. Because he is opposed to that mercenary, selfish, Carthagenian policy, which would sacrifice the rights and lasting interests of the present and future generations, to a few 'good voyages,' by 'the licenses' of the tyrant of the seas.

"7. Because he has that ardent attachment to the future prosperity of his country which disdains that short-sighted policy which would sacrifice the independence and honor of our beloved country to the unjustifiable claims of 'Mother Britain.'

"8. Because he is a staunch Republican Whig; has been tried, and found always firm; a friend to free commerce, by the strong ties of interest, profession and trade, and void of foreign influence.

"9. Because a change at this time would weaken the Republican cause, and if so, hold out encouragement to the British government, lengthen the war, and weaken our government at a time when every hand should be lifted in its support; sow the seeds of division, at a time when union is our safeguard, strength and protection, when 'united we stand, divided we fall.'"

Mr. Cutts' opponent at the polls was Cyrus King, also of Saco, and a half brother of Rufus King. He was a lawyer, eminent in his profession, and a forcible and an accomplished orator. At the election, which was held November 2, 1812, Mr. King received two thousand one hundred and seventy-seven votes, defeating Mr. Cutts who received one thousand four hundred and ninety-seven votes. In his own town, Saco, Mr. Cutts received two hundred votes and Mr. King only seventy-two, but Wells gave Mr. King six hundred and twenty-two votes and Mr. Cutts forty-one. A majority of the voters in this district, as elsewhere in New England, believed that the war was unnecessary and harmful to the best interests of the country, and this opposition Mr. Cutts was unable to overcome.

His term of office expired on the third of March, 1813. In his twelve years of service in Congress he had won the favorable opinion of men of the highest standing in public life, and on the third of June he again entered the service of the government as Superintendent General of Military Supplies. This office, which was made necessary by the war, was one of great responsibility, and one that required for the successful performance of its duties large business abilities and training. In every way Mr. Cutts met its requirements rendering the government unwearied and intelligent service.

The duties of his new office made it necessary for Mr. Cutts to reside in Washington permanently, and he ceased from that time to be a citizen of the District of Maine. His home in Washington, which he

built, was the house now occupied by the Cosmos Club, on the northeast corner of Lafayette square. The whole space was the property of Mr. Cutts at this time. It "was one great garden and greensward and the Cutts children frolicked about the pleasant place, picking gooseberries and currants where the Riggs' banking house now stands, and Mrs. Madison went across from the White House and helped nurse them through the measles." Mr. Cutts continued in his office as Superintendent General of Military Supplies until the close of the war. Afterward he became president of the office of discount and deposit of the Bank of the United States. This position he vacated March 3, 1817, when the office of Second Comptroller of the Treasury was established, and Mr. Cutts, who had evidently discharged his official duties in such a way as to suggest his fitness for the position, was appointed to the new office by President Munroe. This office he held until 1829, when he was removed by Jackson, and he then retired to private life. Financially he had suffered heavily, first by the war, and later by unfortunate investments in North Carolina gold mines; and when Mrs. Madison, after the death of her husband in 1836, returned to Washington, Mr. Cutts' house on Lafayette square came into her possession and she made it her home.

Mr. Cutts, however, continued to reside in Washington, discharging unobtrusively the duties of a private citizen until his death April 7, 1845. Through life he had been favored with uninterrupted good health. It was his own testimony not long before he died that

with the exception of injuries received by an accident he had not known a single sick day. Hon. Samuel Harrison Smith, editor of the *National Intelligencer* from 1800 to 1812, commissioner of public revenue, and president of the Branch Bank of the United States, in an obituary notice of Mr. Cutts referred to this fact, and added: "For this singular felicity he was perhaps as much indebted to a serene temper as to physical structure. This serenity never deserted him and his last moments were those of tranquillity and peace."

Anna Payne, wife of Richard Cutts, died August 14, 1832. Of their seven children, the oldest, James Madison Cutts, born July 29, 1805, became Second Comptroller of the Treasury in 1857, by appointment of President Buchanan, and was continued in that office by President Lincoln until the death of Mr. Cutts, May 11, 1863. Another son, Richard D. Cutts, born September 21, 1817, was for more than forty years connected with the Coast Survey, and died December 13, 1883. During the Civil War he was Gen. Halleck's chief of staff. Superintendent Hilyard, in a circular announcing Gen. Cutts' death, said:

> Assistant Cutts . . . entered the Coast Survey in June, 1843. An experience previously acquired upon the Northeastern Boundary Survey, added to his native ability, soon brought his name into prominent notice; and the prompt and efficient discharge of every duty assigned showed how well placed was the confidence so early reposed in him. During his connection with the Coast Survey his labors have extended into every department of the work. In his earlier years his efforts were directed towards raising the standard of topographical work, which he did with eminent success. Of late years the higher scientific work of the survey has occupied his attention, and his operations have

extended to all parts of the country. The shores of the Chesapeake, the coasts of the Pacific, the plains of Texas, and the mountains of New England equally bear testimony to his professional ability and untiring energy. To him the navigators of the Pacific are indebted for the first surveys of San Francisco, San Diego and Monterey Bays, and some other minor harbors on the coast. On several occasions he has represented this government in international matters. In 1855 was appointed as United States Surveyor upon the International Fisheries Commission for the settlement of the limits of the fishing grounds between the United States and the British Dominions in North America. Throughout the Civil War he performed distinguished services, retiring with the honorary rank of Brigadier General. In 1873 he was one of the United States Commissioners to the Vienna exposition; and only two months before his death, he attended the International Geodesic Conference at Rome, as the representative of the United States in that conference, which was held with the special view of considering the question of a universal prime meridian and the unification of time. For two years before his death he filled the position of assistant in Charge of Office and Topography, and the manner in which he discharged the arduous duties devolving upon him was but in keeping with his discharge of every trust confided to him. Distinguished as he was for his professional acquirements, he was even more noted for the possession of every quality that marks the perfect gentleman. Wise in counsel, firm in purpose, unswerving in principle, gentle in manner and kind at heart, he was a man without fear and without reproach.

Rose Adele Cutts, daughter of James Madison Cutts, born December 27, 1835, married as has already been stated (1) Stephen A. Douglas, and (2) Gen. Robert Williams, U. S. A. A son of James Madison Cutts, James Madison Cutts, Jr., was graduated at Brown University in 1856 in the class with Secretary of State Richard Olney, and at the Harvard Law School in 1860. In the Civil War he was a captain in the 11th Infantry, and served on Gen. Burnside's staff as aide-de-camp, judge advocate, and in other capacities with the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel. Richard Cutts Shannon, a member of Congress at

the present time, from New York city, and the donor of the Shannon Observatory to Colby University, is a descendant of Robert Cutts of Kittery.

In a letter addressed to John Wingate Thornton, Henry Clay paid the following tribute to Richard Cutts: —

I knew him well and intimately from the time of my first entry into Congress in December, 1806, up to the period of his death. During the war session of Congress and prior and subsequent to it he was considered a most useful, valuable and intelligent member, and his information upon all questions connected with the commerce and navigation of the country was particularly sought and appreciated. I forget the precise year when he was appointed comptroller, which office he filled diligently and satisfactorily until he was removed by President Jackson. His removal caused much sensation both on account of his own personal merits and his near connection with Mr. Madison. This removal was in consequence of a system of policy which I fear may in the end prove disastrous to our institutions. I enjoyed his warm friendship which was cordially reciprocated to the day of his death.

John Quincy Adams and Richard Cutts were neighbors in Washington, and the following obituary notice of Mr. Cutts, written by Mr. Adams, shows the estimation in which he was held by that eminent statesman: —

The memory of the late Richard Cutts deserves from his friends and from his countrymen a more detailed notice of his career of life than the mere notice of the day and hour of his decease. He had been many years distinguished by the confidence of his country in many stations of honor and of trust, legislative and executive, and had faithfully performed all these duties. Born on the twenty-eight of June, 1771, at Cutts' Island, Saco, in the Province or District of Maine, then constituting a part of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and now one of the sovereign states of the union, descended from one of the earliest founders of New England, and inheriting that inextinguishable love of freedom, the envied, yet venerated peculiar characteristic of the English Pilgrims, he received his early education at Harvard Uni-

versity, at which institution he was graduated in 1790, in the twentieth year of his age. Most of the sons of that nursing mother of the liberal arts pass from her intellectual tuition to the profounder studies of one or other of the learned professions; yet, among the most illustrious of her children, she takes pride in counting no inconsiderable number of eminent artists, skilful navigators, and enterprising merchants. Following the bent of his inclinations, having studied law, Mr. Cutts engaged extensively in the pursuits of navigation and commerce, though at the same time deeply involved in the vicissitudes and ardently devoted to the duties of political life. At an early period of his career after the close of his studies at the University, he visited Europe, and added to his stock of knowledge, acquired at the seat of science, the stores of experimental instruction acquirable only in the school of observation and inquisitive travel.

On his return from Europe, after serving two successive years as a member of the General Court of Massachusetts, he was, at the age of twenty-nine, in 1800 [should be 1801] elected by the people of his district a member of the House of Representatives of the United States. He took his seat in the House on the seventh of December, 1801, commencing with the administration of Thomas Jefferson, and through six successive Congresses, constantly sustained by the continued confidence of his constituents, he gave a firm, efficient, and undeviating support to that administration, and to that of his successor, Mr. Madison, until the close of his first term, on the third of March, 1813, having patriotically sustained by his vote, non-importation, non-intercourse, the embargo, and finally war, as measures called for by the honor and interest of the nation, although ruinous to his private fortune, since the greater part of his property consisted of ships, the loss of which, if captured or destroyed, might, as thus it did, reduce him to poverty. On the third of June of that year he was appointed Superintendent General of Military Supplies, an office created by the act of third of March, 1813, the better to provide for the supplies of the army of the United States, and for the accountability of persons intrusted with the same, an office of high trust and responsibility, but the functions of which were required only during the continuance of the war. The office was accordingly abolished by the act of third March, 1817, to provide for the prompt settlement of public accounts. By the same act the office of Second Comptroller of the Treasury was created, to which Mr. Cutts was immediately appointed by President James Munroe, and which he held until 1829; since which he has resided in the city of Washington, in the retirement of private life, until his death, April 7, 1845. In the year 1804, Mr. Cutts was united

in marriage with Miss Anna Payne, a sister of Mrs. Madison, and every way worthy of the same parentage. By her he had six [seven] children, four [five] sons and two daughters, four of whom, three sons and one daughter, survive and followed his remains in filial anguish to the grave, near to those of their departed mother and sister, the former of whom had been withdrawn from their devoted affection in 1832, and the latter in 1838.

This tribute to Richard Cutts means much when we remember its source. John Quincy Adams was a man whose standards of judgment in estimating the services of men in public life was high, not low. Only the most faithful discharge of official duties could secure from him words of commendation. Alike valuable is his tribute to the character and personal worth of Mr. Cutts, which is found in all that he says concerning his friend and neighbor. The ex-president, in his seventy-eighth year when he penned these words, was about four years older than Mr. Cutts, and in the nature of things he could not expect to survive him long, but he would have others remember him as he had known him, and so there has come down to us this just and heartfelt tribute to the memory of Richard Cutts.

In his native state, only scanty mention has been made of Mr. Cutts' life and services. His name even is unknown to most of the men who walk our streets. By his removal to Washington at the close of his congressional service, his public duties requiring his presence at the capital, he very naturally dropped out of sight here. His career, however, was an honorable one throughout, and his name is deserving of continued remembrance among us.

COL. THOMAS GOLDTHWAIT—WAS HE A TORY?

BY R. GOLDTHWAITE CARTER, U. S. A.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 19, 1895.

Part V.

There is still further proof that up to this date, Col. Thomas Goldthwait's sympathies and sentiments were loyal to his countrymen.

In the letter of Elihu Hewes reference is made to Capt. John Lane. The writer finds that he received an appointment to treat with the Penobscot Indians, and to raise a company among them if possible.

In event of his raising a company of fifty-six effective men, and for his valuable services on this mission to the Indians, he was promised a captain's commision.

He makes the following very interesting report of his work: —

Fort Pownal, June 9, 1775.

Sir: — I have proceeded agreeable to my orders, as you will see by the enclosed Journal, and have got one of the chiefs to go as an ambassador, and I am in hopes to get them as far as Watertown, &c.

The following is my Journal to Penobscot, in behalf of the honourable Provincial Congress.

Monday, May 22, 1775. I received my orders from the Congress by James Sullivan, Esq., Monday, and proceeded to Falmouth, where I arrived on the 24th current, and applied to Colonel Preble, and the gentlemen belonging to the Committee for that place.

On Sunday, the 28th of said month, set sail for the Penobscot. . . . The 31st, set sail to go up the Bay, and got up to the For

the first of June when I waited on Colonel Goldthwait and acquainted him with my business, *who was willing to do anything in his power for the good of the Province, and offered me all the assistance possible to forward my business, and any sort of provision or clothing that I should want for the Indians, which I accepted, and he ordered the Interpreter to go with me to assist in my business, &c. &c.*

On the 6th attended the meeting of said river (this is the meeting, the proceedings of which, as represented in the petition headed by Col. Goldthwait has been given), and repaired to the fort, waiting for the Indians to go to Casco with me; at the same time I informed Colonel Goldthwait what success I met with, and *who proved to me of his being contrary to what has been represented by some evil-minded person respecting his delivering up the cannon to the Governor.*

And *I am sensible in my own mind, he could not have acted to the contrary, not because he was obliged to obey the Governor's orders, but that there was not sufficient powder (700 pounds).*

And I am further convinced *by the conversation I had with him, he is ready to give all the assistance in his power for the good of the Province, and has been a great help to me in my tour this way:* and I dont know of any person better qualified to act in the office he holds for the good of the poor in that part; for, I am sure neither I nor the Indians could have been accomodated on the river elsewhere.

He assures me that by advice of Congress, *he will still keep vp the fort, and pay the soldiers off, and wait for the pay till its convenient for them, although at this time there is twelve months pay due the garrison, and which he has paid off to the soldiers and some of the officers.*

And *I did not think he ought by any means to lay under the scandalous report that has been spread abroad about his delivering the cannon.*

I am sir, with much respect, your much obliged servant,

Honourable Joseph Warren, Esq. John Lane.

Remainder per another opportunity.[1]

(Am. Arch. 2: 942.) The italics are mine.

The mission of John Lane was, as will be doubtless understood, for the purpose of securing the Penobscot

[1] It could not be found.

Indians in behalf of the Province in its effort to throw off the British yoke.

Did Col. Goldthwait do otherwise than heartily co-operate with and assist him in his effort in this direction? Does this look like disloyalty? And yet, how easy for him, while still in command of Fort Pownall, and exercising a great influence over the Indians, to have thwarted this agent or representative of the Provincial Congress. He could have rendered useless all its efforts in securing on the side of the colonists, the assistance of those tribes in the region of the Penobscot Valley.

On the contrary, however, he offers and provides food and clothing for the Indians; all the assistance asked for by John Lane to forward his business; an interpreter to go with him (and without one he could have done nothing), and besides all this, he offers, through John Lane, a man in the fullest confidence of the Provincial Congress — and it was communicated to them by him in writing: *to keep up the fort, pay off the soldiers himself, and wait for the pay until convenient for this same liberal (?) Congress to reimburse him; having already paid the garrison twelve months pay out of his own pocket.*

Did anybody ever hear of an officer of any government on the face of the earth, who has been given the reputation that this man has: cru l, arbitrary, an extortioner, a tyrant and a coward; even then accused of past and contemplated disloyalty to his country in the hour of her need, voluntarily offering, by the advice

of Congress, to keep up its fort, and maintain and pay its garrison in that remote region?

Manifestly, there was ample opportunity for the Congress to have availed themselves of such valuable services. By not doing so, after what had been sent them in the shape of the highest commendations from W. Molineux, Elihu Hewes, and John Lane, they are proven culpable and negligent in the highest degree, and may well be rightfully accused, after this open, manly offer, of trumping up false charges against the victim of their spite and malice.

In addition to what has already been cited, as though that was not enough, how did they thank or reward him for this loyal offer?

The following petition was presented by the garrison: — It is in the handwriting of Francis Archbald, Jr., the clerk of the Fort.

To the honourable the General Assembly of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

The Petition of Thomas Goldthwait, Esq., & others, late of the Garrison of Fort Pownall

Humbly shews

That your petitioners served in the said Garrison from the first day of June 1774, for the time they inlisted for or untill the said Garrison was dismiss'd agreeable to the establishment made for the said Garrison by the general assembly of the Province at Salem the last year, and your petitioners having received no pay for their said service excepting only what has been advanced them by the officers of said garrison, and are in great want thereof.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray your honours to take their case into consideration and order them their pay.

And your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray, &c.

Isaac Clewley	Tho. Goldthwait
his Joseph X Pitcher mark	Thos Fletcher
William Pratt	Josha Treat
Nathanel Couzens	W. Crawford
	Fra. Archbald Jun'r
his Daniel X Morrow mark	his Timo X Pratt mark
Henry Goldthwait	his Jacob X Clifford jun. mark
his John X Evens mark	Obadiah Moor

Mass. House of Reps. Sat., Aug. 19, 1775.

A petition of Thomas Goldthwait and others, late of the garrison of Fort Pownall, praying for pay for their services, was read, and committed to Colonel Lovell, Colonel Perry and Deacon Rawson.

In Council, Aug. 19, 1775: Read and Concurred. (Am. Arch. 3: 346.)

In Council, Aug. 22, 1775.

The Committee on the Petition and Pay Roll of Thomas Goldthwait, Esq., reported. The report was re-committed, and the Committee were instructed to bring in a Resolve directing that the payment of said Roll be made to the several persons mentioned therein, or their order.

In Council, Aug. 22, 1775: Read and Concurred. (Am. Arch. 3: 334.)

The Committee on Pay-Roll of Captain Thomas Goldthwait's Company, of the garrison of Fort Pownall, again reported: and the consideration of the Report was put off to the next session of this Court.

In Council, Aug. 24, 1755: Read and Concurred. (Am. Arch. 3: 363.)

It was then again brought up in October, 1775, and it had W. Molineux' letter attached, dated October twenty-third.

In the House of Reps,
Oct. 25, 1775.

On the petition of Thomas Goldthwait, Esq., and others mentioned in said petition, late officers & soldiers of the garrison of Fort Pownall, praying that they may be allowed their wages from the 1st day of June 1774 to the 1st day of June 1775: being agreeable to ye rolls herewith exhibited, which is according to ye establishment made by the General Court in June 1774.

Resolved, That there be paid out of ye Public Treas'y of ye Colony to ye said non com'd officers & soldiers named in said pay roll, ye sum of £338 for their services, and ye Treasurer of said Colony is directed to pay to each officer named in said pay roll (Captain Goldthwait & Jon[a] Lowder, Gunner,[1] *excepted?*), against each of their names, & take their several receipts for ye same, or orders under their own hand, which sums are agreeable to ye establishment for one year last past.

Sent up for concurrence,
J. Warren, Speaker,
Perez Morton, Sec. Pro. Tem.

In Council,
Oct. 26, 1775.
Consented to —
James Otis
and others.

(House Journal, Vol. 88, p. 207.)

Upon a motion, Ordered that Mr. Morton, Captain Bragdon, Mr. Sewall, Colonel Thompson and Mr. Hovey be a Committee to make

[1] I find in the original resolution, copied from the House Journal, Massachusetts Archives, that after the word — Gunner — the word — "excepted"— is left out, perhaps others, as though intentional, or to be suppressed.

The resolve would then read so as to give these officers — Col. Goldthwait and Jona. Lowder their pay. On another page, however, I found the following separate entry:—

Wednesday, Oct. 25, 1775.

Resolved — That £333 be paid in full for all soldiers of Fort Pownall on Muster Roll (Captain Goldthwait and Jona Lowder excepted).

In Am. Arch. 3: 1475, is given the full text, and with the missing word or words included.

It is not, however, in the same form of language, spelling, etc., as the House Journal.

inquiry into the conduct of Captain Goldthwait and the Gunner at Fort Pownall. (Am. Arch. 3 : 1476.)

The writer, after a most exhaustive search can find no report of this committee, or that any action was ever taken in the matter. It is his belief that having no proof of any disloyalty on the part of Col. Goldthwait there was no action, or if any report was made it was favorable to him, and was either suppressed, or abstracted from the files, and then somebody entered the separate Resolution with the word — "excepted."

Petition of Jonathan Lowder, setting forth: That he has been employed as a Gunner at Fort Pownall under the command of Thomas Goldthwait, Esq., and has done his duty in said office to the acceptance of his commander and other officers, humbly prays your Honours that they would grant him a warrant for his pay due him on said Goldthwait's Pay-Roll, for the garrison of Fort Pownall.

Resolved — That Jonathan Lowder have leave to draw his pay that is made up to him on Captain Goldthwait's Pay-Roll, for his services as Gunner at Fort Pownall, and the Treasurer of the Colony is ordered to pay the same. (Am. Arch. 6 : 400, 445.)

Thus Col. Thomas Goldthwait was the last scapegoat of the unfortunate affair at Fort Pownall, and the Provincial Congress, notwithstanding what had been shown to them, took this last step in denying him his pay. on this petition, in order to show their angry spite.

Who were William Molineux, and Elihu Hewes, who furnish such strong evidence in defense of Thomas Goldthwait ?

William Mollineux was on two committees on the sixth of March, 1770, the day after the "Boston

Massacre;" one of fifteen — on which was Ezekiel Goldthwait, brother of Col. Thomas Goldthwait, and another of seven, with Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Joseph Warren, Joshua Henshaw, Samuel Pemberton and William Phillips, to present a resolution passed at a town meeting held that same day in Boston, to Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson, demanding the removal of the British Troops from Boston to Castle William. (Lossing's F. B. of the Rev.)

He was also with the tea party in Boston harbor. He was one of the class styled by Sir Francis Bernard: — "the faction, mischief makers, zealously bent on poisoning the minds of the people, and bringing ruin to all."

In the Boston Gazette, for 1774, is a copy of a letter which was thrown into the British camp by some unknown party. It contained the names of Samuel Adams, *William Molineux,* and others, and stated that they "were the authors of all the misfortunes that had thus far been brought upon the Province," and the letter urged that: —

> The instant rebellion happens, you will put the above persons immediately to the sword, destroy their homes, and plunder their effects. It is just that they should be the first victims to the mischief they have wrought upon us.
>
> A Friend to G. Britain and America.
>
> P. S. Dont forget those trumpeters of sedition, Edes & Gill & Thomas.

He was appointed an assistant commissary of one of the Massachusetts regiments in 1776. (American Archives, 2: 1463.) Could any higher tributes be paid to his intense loyalty?

Elihu Hewes was one of the first settlers of Wheelerborough, above Fort Pownall, and was the first town clerk of Hampden. His cousin, Joseph Hewes, to whom he refers in his private letter to Joseph Warren, president of the Provincial Congress, was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was also, at that time, a member of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia.

Thus we have the very strongest testimony of two such men as William Molineux and Elihu Hewes, together with the still stronger statement from Capt. John Lane: all, as shown in their letters and acts, most devoted patriots — the former hated for his radical doings — who knew Col. Goldthwait well; were friends of his; one of whom, the former, was an eye witness, and visiting him at the fort at the time of its dismantlement, and all three letters were written very soon after the occurrence.

Does any student or historian doubt that during the stay of William Molineux at Fort Pownall, from April thirteenth to May sixth, a man of his radical and pronounced views, he would not have known had Col. Goldthwait been an enemy to his country, a Loyalist, or that he contemplated in any way playing the part of a traitor?

He had ample opportunites for discussing the entire situation with his host, and surely any trace of Toryism or disloyalty to the cause for which all were then beginning to prepare themselves, would have been quickly observed.

This evidence should certainly carry more weight than a journal written by John Davidson many years after the events therein contained transpired; who was not an eye witness of the dismantlement of Fort Pownall, and, who seemed only intent upon branding the author of his alleged wrongs as a cruel, unjust extortioner, a tyrant and a coward.

Whom should the present historian be most likely to credit? The writer thinks there is but little doubt.

There is another point of most vital importance concerning the events which led up to the responsibility for the dismantlement of Fort Pownall.

It was known as early as September, 1774, that Gen. Gage was consulting with Lord Dartmouth with reference to securing cannon, and all the magazines then known to be in the hands of the Whigs, and those likely to be seized by them.

A petition was addressed to him October 14, 1774, to desist from "further war-like demonstrations, such as reenforcement of troops, bringing in of cannon from Castle William, etc."

A letter, written by a British officer stationed at Boston, dated December 17, 1774, stated that, "Gen. Gage means to strike a stroke of some importance soon, which the Americans are little aware of." About the same time Lord Dartmouth directed Gen. Gage to seize all war-like stores, dismantle the forts, etc.

On December 13, 1774 there was a seizure of cannon, arms and powder by the Whigs at Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

A little latter, the same thing was done at Castle William, Boston harbor, and Capt. Cochran, commanding the same was injured. On December 18, 1774, a report came from Capt. Wallace, commanding his Majesty's ship Rose, at Newport, Rhode Island, to Admiral Graves that the people had already anticipated him, and seized the king's cannon on Fort Island, consisting of thirty-six guns of various calibers, etc.

He states: — "among their votes you will find they intend to procure powder and Ball, and Military stores wherever they can get them." (American Archives, 1: 1039, 1042, 1049.)

In most of these instances the patriots had forestalled the British troops. On Sunday, February 28, 1775, a transport arrived at Marblehead with a regiment of British regulars, commanded by Col. Leslie. They marched across to Salem during church hours, for the purpose of seizing cannon, powder, stores, etc., but the people took alarm, soon gathered at the old North Bridge and frustrated the design of the troops without bloodshed.

This is known as "Leslie's Retreat."

The question naturally occurs to a military student — why was Col. Thomas Goldthwait, after repeated warnings of what was to take place — left in that far-off fort, remote from Boston, where the people were now alive and quickened to all that was going on about them: why was he left without reenforcements and with but a handful of men to resist two armed schooners loaded with regular troops? Why did the

patriots about Fort Pownall not anticipate this very event — the dismantlement of the fort — as their compatriots had about Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Newport, Rhode Island, Castle William and Salem, Massachusetts?

From two hundred to three hundred men should have been thrown into the fort a month or more before, with plenty of ammunition, and the work should have been strengthened. He had repeatedly urged the increase of the garrison, and the parsimonious Congress had refused to do it.

In their confused and excited state about Boston, this most important fort had been entirely lost sight of. The Committee of Safety was caught napping.

A march had been stolen upon this little, defenseless garrison, and the enraged Congress, for lack of some other victim upon whom to vent their wrath, felt compelled to condemn Col. Goldthwait for their lack of energy and foresight.

And the patriotic Whigs about that region, they also were caught napping, and, after the act had been committed, instead of abiding by the sense of the meeting called to investigate Col. Goldthwait's conduct, and which entirely exonerated him, chose to make him a scapegoat, and then — through history's pages, hand him down for more than a century of time as a tyrant, a coward and a traitor.

There was, we repeat, ample warning and sufficient time, and the neglect of the Provincial Congress in not supporting him, and reenforcing the fort, and the lack of energy and promptness of the people of Penob-

scot in not coming to his rescue, was not only a *stupendous blunder, it was a crime!*

He has been called a coward. We will now leave it for future history to determine which was the more cowardly — the act of Congress in abandoning him to his own judgment and resources, with a small handful of men, in the face of such odds; condemning him for obeying a legal order; and for the people of that region to permit him to be trapped, and then bravely (?) gathering a mob of two hundred and fifty men, and marching a large party to Fort Pownall, to demand of a single man his reasons for allowing the fort to be dismantled.

We ask which was the braver act — this, or the act of this commander; this one resolute man, in the face of this mob, standing up, undismayed, without fear, answering all their questions, and handing their leaders a letter to be taken back to the selectmen of St. Georges, which is a model of calm, dispassionate, logical reasoning?

A letter of that tenor is not written in fear. To exercise a calm demeanor (construed by John Davidson to be a proud, haughty indifference), was not the sign of a craven, or cowardly spirit, but rather that of a brave man and soldier, unconscious of having done any wrong, but courageous in what he most solemnly believed to have been his soldierly duty.

What was Col. Thomas Goldthwait's position? It was a most peculiar one: that of a soldier holding the king's commission, and serving under the king's legally appointed representative — the governor of

the province — and this before war had been declared, the Declaration of Independence thought of, or before a battle had been fought.

There had been simply a few outbreaks, in the form of an uprising of the mob element; but no organized movements or overt act.

The authority that had appointed him to the command of Fort Pownall, had also the power to order him to turn it over to any other officer, also commissioned by the king; to abandon it if necessary; to allow it to be dismantled, etc., etc.

Whose orders was he under at that moment if not those of the military governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay?

The commission which has been given, reads as follows: —

> You are to observe and follow such Orders and Directions as you shall from time to time receive from me, or the Commander-in-Chief for the time being, or other of your superior officers, according to the Rules and Discipline of War, pursuant to the trust reposed in you.

The foregoing is perfectly plain, and so far had not been rescinded.

There were other and very important conditions which also controlled him then, at that particular day and hour, through the governor of the Province, and the commander-in-chief of the forces in North America.

If he disobeyed a legal order from his lawful and superior officer, he was in danger of being punished by death, or such other punishment as the king might inflict.

He was between two fires, and, without being in full touch with, or reach of, the patriots in Boston, or being fully able to judge of how far the intense spark of liberty had progressed, by any demonstration or overt act he could then see about him, he hesitated not to obey the order as he then received it, and do his full duty as a soldier.

On the other hand, if he obeyed the king, who had already sent an order through Lord Dartmouth to Gen. Gage to dismantle these forts, seize all arms, powder, etc., he was liable to death at the hands of the patriotic Whigs, who were then beginning to feel the heavy hand of taxation and tyranny.

He did, the writer doubts not, what his conscientious sense of duty, under the circumstances of time and place dictated, without a thought of being regarded as a traitor to his country.

Certainly his letter to the selectmen of St. Georges setting forth his position, and reasons for the act, clearly shows the soldierly spirit which guided him, and is, from a soldier's standpoint, a most manly and soldierly letter; this regardless of his convictions.

Many a soldier has been compelled to obey an order in direct contradiction to his personal views and feelings; to fire upon a mob of citizens, among whom might be some of his personal friends, for example. Numerous examples could be given. The inflexible rule is, however, *provided the order is not known to be illegal, and a flagrant violation of the Articles of War, decency, etc., to obey the order first, then enter a solemn protest afterwards.*

His subsequent action in heading the petition from Penobscot is conclusive to the mind of the writer that he was still loyal, and acting for the best interests of the people of that section, so far as he was able to judge at that time and place with no other guide to go by.

He did not, like Benedict Arnold, accept service under his country's flag — a native born American — and then, under promise of British rank and British gold, voluntarily turn traitor and go over to the enemy.

He acted strictly under the orders and authority that had appointed him to the command of Fort Pownall, and which, when he accepted his commission, he took an oath to support. In all this, it must be borne in mind, he was placed in an entirely different position from the irresponsible parties who then surrounded him, who had *taken oaths to nobody.*

Nothing short of a resignation of that commission could have relieved him from the duty he then was called upon by the king, or his representative, to perform. Was he warranted in resigning? *He could not have done so then had he wished to,* for the order was *then and there staring him in the face.* It was imperative, as shown by William Molineux' letter, and he had no time to consider it. Many another soldier has been placed in *similar positions* and *circumstances,* but few under *precisely the same conditions* — viz: — those of a great war just breaking out into actual bloodshed, and the colonists called upon to take sides, and at once, for or against the mother country.

Did the masses gathered at the meeting, called by him, to discuss the situation after the Battle of Lexington, and of which he himself, was moderator — referred to in William Molineux' letter — did they condemn him for obeying that order?

The vote conveying the sentiments of that meeting says, no! John Davidson, with his party of lawless, turbulent spirits, say, yes! And why? *Because they could not go to the commanding officer of a fort, and make a demand, which could only come from the proper legal authority*, to turn over arms and ammunition, and have it at once acceded to.

The record shows that when directed by that lawful authority, he did not hesitate to do so. Does William Molineux' letter indicate any other spirit than a true fidelity to his country, even while obeying Gen. Gage's order under stress of an overpowering force as well as conviction of duty? Does Elihu Hewes' letter indicate any other position than that of a faithful adherence to the Constitution?

And yet, his command was taken away from him: he was censured by the Provincial Congress: he was virtually banished, and tradition among his descendants declares that he was maltreated. At all events, the harsh, unreasonable and unmerited treatment he did receive, for having obeyed a lawful command, forced him into comparative retirement, and gave a pretext for the name of Loyalist, traitor, etc., etc.

But the query is naturally made — then why did he flee from his native land? Did he flee? He did not! And, notwithstanding Lorenzo Sabine's state-

ment that he was shipwrecked and lost when en route to Nova Scotia in 1775, he remained a silent spectator of events, either at Castine or Penobscot until 1779.

This is shown by accounts recently found, dated up to 1777; a letter to Col. Goldthwait's wife at Penobscot (now Castine) as late as 1779, written from Nova Scotia by one J. Snelling; and when the British fleet came into Penobscot Bay in July, 1779, to prosecute the siege of Bagaduce, the writer has found that he went aboard the frigate Le Blonde, Capt. Andrew Barclay. (New London Gazette, July 1779.)

Also, that he took passage for New York in the same frigate is shown by the following: —

In Thomas' Massachusetts Spy, or Oracle of Liberty, published in Worcester, Massachusetts, October 7, 1779, there is an extract from "Rivington's Royal Gazette, New York City, September 10, 1779," as follows: —

"Last Tuesday evening arrived His Majesty's Ship Blonde, A. Barclay, Esq., Commander, with advices of the Glorious success of the British arms at Penobscot." (Here follows a full account of operations there; list of rebel fleet destroyed, etc., etc.) Then follows: — "We have the pleasure to inform our readers that Col. Thomas Goldthwait of Penobscot is lately arrived in this city. The death of this gentleman had been announced in the New England papers."

His daughter, Catharine, met him there. On the twenty-third of December, 1779, he sailed for England in the fleet that became so badly scattered by a

hurricane, and barely escaped foundering. He was on the ship Cornwallis, Capt. John Stevenson.

Gov. Thomas Hutchinson's diary then announces his arrival, February 15, 1780, at Portsmouth, and frequently meeting him. The diary of Judge Samuel Curwen of Salem, Massachusetts, frequently mentions meeting him in London, at the New England coffee house, with Sir William Pepperrell and others; dining with him at Walthamstow, etc., etc., up to 1783.

He died August 31, 1799, and the writer has a photograph of the inscriptions on his tombstone.

What were the circumstances which forced him to abandon his native land and take passage for England long after the so-called Refugees had been proscribed and had fled for safety?

His command had been taken away from him; he had been refused pay for his services for the past year 1774-1775, notwithstanding it is shown that he himself had advanced the money to the soldiers who were suffering for it; Col. Jonathan Buck had superseded him, by order of the Provincial Congress; evil-minded people had succeeded in poisoning the Congress against him so that a message was sent to the Indians censuring him. In July, 1774, the fort was ordered to be destroyed by the militia, under Col. James Cargill. Col. Goldthwait was ordered out in the night, his family with all their household effects were removed to the little brick chapel which he had built for devotional purposes; his portrait was mutilated; he was threatened with violence, and then the

blockhouse and all other buildings were reduced to ashes. (American Archives, 3 : 329, 330.)

Following this came the seizure of his property, his lands, destruction of his crops, etc., etc. He was literally forced to take refuge with his family at Castine (then Penobscot).

Of this the writer has ample proof; and he is of the opinion that few men in the northern states during the late War of the Rebellion, known to be, and personally conscious of being loyal, would have taken any active part on the Union side, had such treatment been accorded them, merely on suspicion by a few hot-headed men of being copperheads, or, on the ground of having obeyed a legal order before hostilities had begun — not in harmony with what took place later.

The fact that he did not, while temporarilly living at Penobscot with his family, from about August, 1775, until September, 1779, a period of four years, seek service with the British which, from his previous service and high standing would have been a comparatively easy matter, especially as he had then apparently done them a great service in allowing the fort to be dismantled; the fact that he committed no overt act nor joined the Tories by taking up arms against his countrymen, but simply remained a quiet spectator of events, is the strongest proof, in addition to what has already been adduced, that he had no inclination or desire to be a traitor to the cause.

So far the proof is overwhelming that Col. Thomas Goldthwait was loyal to the cause of the Province, but, realizing that there was nothing worth living for

in his native country, after such treatment, he took the course he did.

It would have proved far better for him had he remained in this country, and defended his rights and interests, hard and dangerous as it might have proved; for, by going to England, or, as Sabine has it, "fleeing to Nova Scotia," he lent color to the assertion that has passed into history, that he was a pronounced Loyalist and a strong supporter of the king.

He left all of his lands — unfortunately owned with Sir Francis Bernard — to be seized and confiscated, and was made to feel and know, with the Loyalist refugees (although his name is not included with theirs in the official announcement) that he was proscribed, banished, and threatened with "death without benefit of clergy," should he ever return.

It would have proved far better had he returned about 1785, for those eminent Loyalists who did return at that period recovered most of their lands. They did not, however, recover their personal property.

A careful search of the Massachusetts Archives will convince the most skeptical patriot of to-day the reason for this: for the thieving and looting of the Loyalists' personal property, and the surprisingly exorbitant and grossly fraudulent accounts brought against their estates for that purpose, has hardly a parallel in war's history.

It was a most thorough piece of thieving and jobbery, one that would put the Tammany tiger of to-day to the blush. It can all be found in Massachusetts

Archives, Vol. 1, 1774, 1784, and Vol. 2, 1778, 1784: also Vol. 139: 333, 338.

Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, however, and many other Loyalists returned at this date, and recovered most of their lands: he his immense estate on the Kennebec.

The Waldo heirs, among them the wife of Gen. Henry Knox, who was Lucy, the daughter of Thomas Flucker, and a part of whose lands had, at one time included Thomas Goldthwait's, recovered, not without a hard struggle, however, all that belonged to them, although the numerous squatters were loth to let go their tenacious hold.

Thus, this once trusted Crown officer of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, the brilliant legislator from Chelsea; the gifted secretary of war for Sir Francis Bernard; the once trusted paymaster-general of all the Massachusetts troops in the Crown Point expedition, the upright judge of Lincoln County, the Colonel of the 2d regiment of Lincoln County, the firm and judicious commander of the great trading station on the Penobscot River, was doomed to die far away from his native land.

That he wrote many letters, journals and papers at Walthamstow, the writer has ample proof; but it is also quite as certain that they were carelessly destroyed after his death.

What would they now reveal could they be resurrected from the ashes and decay of the dead past, or who can fathom the hourly thoughts and meditations of this alleged Tory and Loyalist during those nineteen years of exile in that far-off land of England?

If the writer has succeeded, however, in rescuing his name from oblivion and the prejudiced statements that have been handed down from one generation to another, to pass unchallenged into history; if he has succeeded in shedding a new light upon his character, portraying him in such different colors; if the overwhelming proof which he has offered against such slight evidence to the contrary—of which there can be but little doubt—has acquitted Colonel Thomas Goldthwait of the charges which have stood against him for more than a century of time, he will ever feel grateful to that sense of duty which urged him on to this laborious work, especially in that of passing ten days among the files of the Mass. Archives, and the keenest pleasure in having brought his labors to such a satisfactory conclusion.

BEARING OF CAPTAIN JOHN MASON'S TITLES UPON MAINE HISTORY.

BY THE LATE WILLIAM M. SARGENT.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 9, 1888.

THE following papers, references and citations are based upon the discovery of Sir Ferdinando Gorges' deed[1] to Capt. John Mason of the Newichewannock tract, and the deed by the Mason heirs of the above

[1] The above Gorges' deed, being No. 12 in the recently discovered manuscript volume of Masonian Titles, is printed at pages 39-42 in the introduction to Book II, York Deeds.

tract and Masonia[1] to Samuel Allen; the resulting suit of Allen vs. Spencer; the mortgaging, foreclosing and subsequent adandonment of the title to these extensive tracts in Maine.

The announcement made last April through the columns of the Portland Daily Advertiser[2] of the discovery of an interesting and historically valuable manuscript collection of papers bearing upon the earliest history of the Province of Maine and New Hampshire, including a royal charter from King Charles I. to Capt. John Mason of the date of August 19, 1635, was received in certain quarters with incredulity; partly because of a disinclination to discard long-accepted beliefs, and a lack of opportunity to inspect the document itself, and partly because in the heated discussions that have arisen between interested partizans the very existence of such a royal charter has been acrimoniously denied, and as the weight of numbers and the most vigorous denunciations have been upon the side of the opponents of the Masonian claimants, the impression had generally taken root that if such a charter had really existed Mason's heirs would have produced it, and made use of it in the long series of petitions and hearings, reviews, trials at law, and appeals by which they endeavored, for half a century, to recover possession of their patrimony in New England.

[1] It is to be remembered that the title to Masonia, the tract of ten thousand acres, or something over ten and one-half square miles on the southeast of the Sagadahoc River, was vested in Capt. John Mason both by grants from the Council of Plymouth, and was also included in the royal charter of King Charles I. in 1635. See No. 11 of the Masonian Titles.

[2] Monday, April 11, 1887.

The utilization of this discovery for historical purposes was due to the discrimination of the publishing committee of the Maine Historical Society, for they, during the progress of the printing of Book II of York Deeds, recognizing the interest that would attend the perusal of such documents as are preserved therein, and especially that the attention of even the casual reader would be attracted to the series of papers of such remarkable historical value and importance as those printed at folios 14 to 23 in that volume, desired to have an historical sketch explanatory of the state of his affairs that led Robert Mason to place these papers upon record among the archives of the Province of Maine, and requested the writer to investigate such collateral and contemporaneous evidence as might be attainable, and prepare an introductory article.

Such investigations resulted in the discovery of so much material that is new to the present generation of historical students, and that, if known, as is suspected, by some of those of past generations, was either purposely disregarded from interested motives and suppressed from partizan bias; or, with an easy acquiescence in the dicta of distinguished writers, was not investigated independently, or was, perhaps, slurred over to escape the labor of exhuming and collating scattered data, that it was deemed advisable in the introduction to Book II, York Deeds, to devote some considerable space to the preservation of the facts relating to this discovery and the presentation of documentary evidence, without too much of argument,

leaving to a critical class of readers the deduction of conclusions to which such contributions lead.

Since the publication of that introduction and the presentation of such documentary evidence as was there cited, it has been argued that this may be the copy of an unexecuted charter, or that it may be an outright forgery.[1] To these pleas this article may be taken as a replication. The adverse arguments will be met and answered in the order in which they are advanced, but it should be born in mind that the chain of argument for the authenticity of the charter is perhaps most felicitously presented in the introduction referred to, and as it can be readily consulted much of it will not be repeated here. The genuineness of our copy is, it is understood, admitted; and as we now have the manuscript volume deposited in the archives of our Society by the public-spirited and disinterested action of Moses A. Safford, Esquire, of Kittery, in whose possession it was, and who first brought it to the attention of the writer, comparison and verification is afforded to, and can be made by, all interested.

The possession of this volume also enables us to fortify our position as to its genuineness by consideration of its internal evidence, an important step that could not be succinctly stated in the previous article, nor indeed convincingly elucidated except by occular demonstration. In this connection the writer urges the appearance of the volume itself; the beautiful elaboration of the greater part of the script, the chirogra-

[1] Dean's, Tuttle's, John Mason, 357-360, and notes.

phy of a professional scrivener of no mean ability, doubtless done in England, for the writer having had a large and varied experience, and having examined most of the early penmanship extant in the half of New England, has nowhere found such clerical work as this, unless it emanated from the trained hands on the other side. These earlier papers were copied into this book for convenience for the use of Mason's council in the suits he brought at Newcastle, New Hampshire, in 1683; their arrangement is orderly, and evinces a theory as to the order of their probable employment. They were unquestionably brought into court with the originals, with the originals there carefully read and compared, and certified to by the court officials to make them available for use before the juries, without risking the priceless originals out of the owner's hands. Compare and verify the signatures of the governor, councillors, attorney-general, clerk and secretary of the province who attest these documents. These were "honorable gentlemen all," and to impugn their attestations is to argue a conspiracy so incredible as to be inconceivable. The originals must have been produced in court. The possibility of men of the training and legal acumen of Cranfield, Rayne and Chamberlain being mistaken in what was proffered to them as originals seems equally absurd, and is elsewhere adverted to. Notice the painful transition in style of the execution of the copies of the later documents that were subsequently added for use in the suits of 1704 and 1707. Only one word further explanatory of the internal evidence

of the use to which these earlier copies were put: upon the cover page in the handwriting of the counsel is a list of the jury empaneled, headed, "Challenge to the array," and the name of one "Weare" is stricken out as peremptorily challenged (and from the best of reasons, as this was undoubtedly Meshech Weare, one of Mason's bitterest opponents), and one "Ayers" is inserted in his stead. The papers in this case have been ruthlessly cut from the Court Records[1] and abstracted from the files, but as these and the other jurors names are quite different to those given at page 559, New Hampshire Prov. Papers, Volume II, as serving in the Allen vs. Waldron case in 1707, it doubly ensures the certainty that we have here the copies that were certified and used before the jury in the Mason vs. Waldron case in 1683.

The reasons advanced for arguing that this charter was either an instrument not fully perfected, or a forgery, are five in number, and taken seriatim are:—

1. No contemporary evidence has been produced to show that Charles I granted a charter to Mason.

To this it is answered, there was no contemporaneous contest involving the validity of the charter and no occasion for the production of such evidence. Captain John Mason died about December, 1635, leaving by will, to his grandchildren, then minors under guardianship, his estates in New England (to Robert Tufton who afterward was known as Robert Tufton Mason, New Hampshire), after they had attained their majority, and until such majority to the possession of

[1] Certificate of C. G. Conner, Esquire, clerk of courts at Exeter.

his wife. When Robert Mason was of age in 1655, Parliament was instated in power, and the Masons being Royalists he could not hope for any favor or aid in recovering his estates until the restoration of the Stuarts in 1660, when, as shown below, he at once began his appeals. Nor between 1635 and 1677 does there seem to have been any search made for a duplicate, or for a record of this charter. In the latter year the agents of Massachusetts in London, in proceedings against that province, set out that they had been unable to find a record of the patents to either Gorges or Mason after a diligent search "in the Chapel of the Rolls as in other offices," and therefore prayed that an order should issue to those claimants to furnish them with copies of the papers on which they relied.[1] Can there be any question but that they received such copies before being required to answer further? Consider the disturbances between those dates; the confusion attendant upon the overthrow of two governments — the accession of Parliament, and the restoration of the monarchy — the little care that was taken of public papers at that early date; the temptation to unscrupulous adversaries to abstract such papers, and the impossibility of detection; and is it wonderful that some papers have disappeared!

2. George Vaughan, writing from London, April 10, 1636, to Ambrose Gibbons, says that Sir Ferdinando Gorges told him that Mason was prevented by death from procuring a patent from the king.

[1] Palfrey's History of New England, III, 305.

This objection does not fairly quote the language from the alleged original letter.[1] That letter of Vaughan's even if admitted to be genuine, does not make the statement urged in this objection; being merely negative in its terms it is only by a forced implication that that statement can be deduced from it; all it shows is that Gorges did not then (within those few months) know that Mason had obtained such a charter from the king.

This is further discussed in the introduction to Book II, and the suggestion is there made that this letter, like the bogus Wheelwright deed, may have been forged and introduced with the like sinister purpose. This certified copy of the charter is not to be discredited upon negative evidence or by doubtful letters.

3. The Lords of Trade, in a report to the king in 1753, say: "It is alleged that the last grant to Mason was confirmed by the Crown by charter dated August 19, 1635, with full power of civil jurisdiction and government; but no such charter as this appears upon record.

This objection has been partially answered under number one above. It formed the substance of a correspondence between Hazard and Belknap as early as November 16, 1781,[2] before the appearance of the latter's History of New Hampshire in 1792, wherein the historian writes the collector: "I believe you need give yourself no further trouble to search for Mason's confirmation of his patent from the King in 1635, for

[1] See New Hampshire Province Papers, I, 97, 98.

[2] Letter Belknap to Hazard, Massachusetts Historical Collection, 5 s. ii, Belknap. Papers I, 111.

in addition to the evidences which I have communicated to you formerly, I have now by me a copy of a Report of the Board of Trade who examined the matter in 1753, wherein is the following paragraph." [Quoting as above.]

That Dr. Belknap later modified this extreme view of the impossibility of the existence of the royal charter of 1635 is apparent from reading his cautious and non-committal note to page 25 of this history. It is well nigh incredible that an historical writer of such reputation as Belknap should have felt satisfied to have let his history be issued with so important a question left in such uncertainty, when there existed in the records he must have inspected enough certainly by way of statement and recital to have put him upon careful inquiry, for Hazard had printed in his collections[1] the report of the referees printed in Book II, York Deeds, folio 17, and there was the recital in the deed of the Mason heirs, printed in New Hampshire Province Papers, II, 539.

4. The ground of Mason's claim to territory in New Hampshire is explicitly stated in the commissions issued by Charles II. to John Cutt, September 18, 1679, as president, and to Edward Cranfield, May 9, 1682, as lieutenant-governor of that province; but this ground is not a royal charter to John Mason but simply grants to him from the council of Plymouth.

The reasons that impelled Robert Mason to abandon his claims to jurisdictional rights under the charter were stated concisely in the introduction to Book II.

[1] II, 577.

After the death of his grandfather and during his long minority, such plans of government as may have been matured by the masterful mind of the redoubtable Capt. John, and howsoever capable of enforcement by his remarkable energy, had been abandoned, with but the slightest possible chance of being enforced against an intruding and rapidly growing population. The increase in numbers and wealth of these intruders led him rather to choose to rely upon the probability of deriving compensating revenues from quit-rents on the realty, under grants of the fee from the council of Plymouth, and to surrender his vice-regal dignities and privileges to the Crown, stipulating for support and assistance in enforcing these secondary rights. As early as 1664 we find him negotiating such surrender, and from a minute of considerations[1] drawn up probably by Lord Clarendon, it is probable that these negotiations were successfully consummated; this supposition is strengthened by the recital in the above commissions. The language used by Lord Clarendon conclusively points to a recognized charter of New Hampshire, viz: "to accept the surrender of Mason's patent for the Province of Hampshire on conditions already agreed upon" . . . "the King hath now a propriety as well as a dominion by the surrender of the grants to the ancestor[s] of Mason" . . . "the King's unquestionable right of propriety to Hampshire" . . . "the King's new right."

5. There is no reference to a charter from the king in any of the petitions of Robert Mason nor in

[1] Sainsbury's Calendar of State Papers Colonial xviii, No. 46.

the two statements of his title, nor in the legal opinions in his case, nor in the records of the Privy Council that have been printed.

The answer to the argument is found in Book II York Deeds, at folios 17 and 18. The sentences fraught with language so significant as to attract attention and that supplied the incentive for the research that resulted in the discovery of the charter occur in the petition of Robert Mason, Edward Godfrey and others: "That your petitioners by *Pattents* granted by yo^r^ Majestys most Royal *father*[1] of ever blessed Memory, were possessed of sundry Tracts of land in New England," and in the report of the referee to the king thereupon: "vpon *produceing diverse letters Pattents*, & examination of Witnesses, Wee find that Cap^t^ John Mason grandfather to Robert Mason one of the petitioners & Edw. Godfrey one other of the petitioners by vertue of *several Letters patents* vnder the great Seal of England granted vnto them & others *by yo^r^ Majestys late Royall father*,[1] by themselues & thejr assignes, have been in Actuall & quiett possession of severall tracts Prcells & devissions of Land in New England as In & by the s^d^ letters Patents is particularly expressed."

The language here is absolute, convincing and incontrovertible, that there was a grant or confirmation by King Charles I. to John Mason, and that these referees had it before them, and passed upon its validity; it is susceptible of no other construction, and the repetition of it precludes clerical mistakes.

[1] *i. e.*, Chas. I.

This finding has never been repealed, reversed or overruled. The only denial of the existence of the charter is the one referred to above by the Massachusetts agents. Mason and his counsel regarding this as *res judicata* never again put it in issue. At the time of the hearing in 1677, having surrendered his *jura regalia* to the Crown the issue before the Lords of the Privy Council was so far as he was concerned, upon the "title to the *lands* claimed by petitioners, which the respondents [*i. e.* Massachusetts] did disclaim."

Mason and his assigns were always asserting their rights under this charter, the petition just given is one instance; again in 1677 he asserted that he had had such rights; he held it over the heads of his opponents in his quarrels:[1] finally April 27, 1691, his two sons in their deed of New Hampshire, the Newichawannock tract and Masonia to Samuel Allen transferred to him as a muniment of title the original charter itself, as witness this recital: "And alsoe all those Letters Pattents heretofore granted by his late Maj^{tie} King Charles the first unto Cap^{t} John Mason Esq^{r} Great Grandfather or Ancestor of them the said John Tufton Mason and Robert Tufton Mason, beareing date on or about the Nineteenth day of Aug^{t} in the Eleaventh year of his said Reigne." Finally there has come into the writer's possession a paper that he purposes depositing with our archives because of its bearing on this question, rather showing the notice that the Massachusetts people had than of any concession they make in it. It is endorsed: "Memorand for y^{e}

[1] See pp. 17, 18. introduction to Book II York Deeds and the references cited also *idem* p. 15, n. 6.

Massachusetts Counsill in defending their . . . . ag^{t} ye L^{d} Gorges Claim & M^{r} Sam^{ll} Allens Petition." It bears no date. It contains this significant sentence: "M^{r} Allen in his Petition p^{r}tends title by purchas fro y^{e} heires of Cap^{t} John Mason & p^{r}tends a Patent also for y^{e} Governm^{t} y^{r} of granted to s^{d} Mason Aug^{t} 19° 11° Carol. 1. which his p^{r}decessors never p^{r}tended to, & w^{ch} Grant we never heard of before."

The writer is well aware that for the sake of perspicuity he ought to have recounted considerable portions of New Hampshire history, but to have done that as it ought properly to be done would have occupied more space and time than is here allotted, so a reasonable familiarity with the early affairs of our neighboring province has been presumed, at least so much as is afforded by Belknap's opening chapters. Those who desire further to pursue this interesting branch of research and wish to find an orderly arrangement of such data, as have been heretofore accessible, of the family genealogy, the chain of title, the vicissitude of fortune, and the outcome of protracted litigation are referred to Mr. Dean's edition of Mr. Tuttle's "Captain John Mason."[1] That gives in a very full and satisfactory chronological order everything that painstaking skill and devoted editing could add to a somewhat meager outline.

Such were the passions engendered by this long-continued strife for the possession of New Hampshire's broad acres, such the confederation of allodial tenants, and so intermingled became the affinity and con-

[1] Captain John Mason, the founder of New Hampshire, by the late Charles W. Tuttle, Ph. D. edited by John Ward Dean, published 1887 by the Prince Society.

sanguinity of that region, that judicially calm and unbiassed discussion of so vexed a question can hardly be expected from the descendants of the *dramatis personæ*, and it has been reserved for friendly and impartial neighboring hands to collect and preserve material that may well necessitate the rewriting of the earliest chapters of the history of our sister province.

[To be continued.]

FALMOUTH NECK IN THE REVOLUTION.[1]

"ONE OF THOSE OLD TOWNS — WITH A HISTORY."

BY NATHAN GOOLD.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, October 29, 1896.

In 1632, when John Winter ejected George Cleeves and Richard Tucker from their settlement at Spurwink, forcing them to settle on the then unoccupied and unclaimed peninsula afterwards called Falmouth Neck, now Portland, he little thought that they were to be the founders of a city. This pleasant town has not come to its present state without much heroic sacrifice, both in blood and treasure, by its inhabitants.

Here, in 1676, the settlers were attacked and thirty-two were killed and carried away by the savages. The rest of the inhabitants fled to Cushing's Island, with Rev. George Burroughs, and it was not until 1678 that they returned and built for further protection Fort Loyal, near where the first settlement was made.

[1] This is not intended as a full history of the Revolutionary period at Falmouth Neck, although all important events are noticed, but is supplementary and explanatory of what has been published in Willis' History of Portland, Goold's Portland in the Past, and Freeman's Smith and Deane's Journal.

In October, 1689, Col. Benjamin Church, with about eighty men, had a fight with several hundred Indians on Brackett's, now the Deering, farm and lost twenty-one men. This battle, it has been said, saved Maine to the United States.

In May, 1690, for five days and four nights, the garrison of Fort Loyal, under the command of the brave Capt. Sylvanus Davis, kept at bay between four and five hundred French and Indians. The first night when they were ordered to surrender the garrison they answered, "that they should defend themselves to the death;" but they were finally compelled to submit to their treacherous enemies, who carried a few to Canada and cruelly murdered nearly two hundred, whose dead bodies lay exposed to the wild beasts and birds and the bleaching storms for two years, when Sir William Phips and Col. Benjamin Church, on their way to Pemaquid, buried them, probably near the foot of India Street, and carried away the eighteen pounders from the fort. Every house was burned and what had been a settlement remained a wilderness for nearly twenty-five years. Then the settlers came again; but the story of the town through the following French and Indian wars, to our troubles with the mother country, is not one of peace, but they were years of anxiety to the inhabitants. In the earliest times Massachusetts was cruelly indifferent to the safety of the poor settlers of Falmouth Neck and wilfully neglected them.

Near where the first settlement was made, not far from the foot of Hancock Street, is our most historic locality, but now the visitor goes there only to see

the place where the poet Longfellow was born, and the house where the man first saw the light of day who taught the National House of Representatives that their first duty was to learn to govern themselves.

Falmouth Neck, at the commencement of the Revolutionary war, had less than nineteen hundred inhabitants, and they occupied only the territory bounded by Congress, Center, Fore and India Streets, with a few who lived on Fore Street outside those limits. There were about two hundred and thirty dwellings and there was no street northwest of Congress, which was then called Back or Queen Street, to Center, and west of that it was Main Street or "the highway leading into town." All between Congress Street and Back Cove was woods. Middle and Fore Streets were the only long streets that ran in the same direction as Congress. Center was the last cross street up town and was called Love Lane. Temple Street was Meetinghouse Lane. Exchange Street was laid out only from Middle to Fore, and was called Fish Street. On the west side there were but two shops and one house, and on the east side there were three houses and one shop. Property on this street was of small value, as it was too far up town. There was a knoll where the post-office now stands. Market Street ran only from Middle to Congress and was called Lime Alley. Pearl Street from Middle to Congress was simply a lane, and on the south corner of this lane and Congress Street stood a windmill where was ground their corn, and part of the millstone is now in Lincoln Park. About what is now Pearl Street, but formerly was Willow

Street, from Middle to Fore, was Pearson's Lane. Franklin from Congress to Fore Street, was called Fiddle Lane. Newbury Street extended only from India to Franklin, and was called Turkey Lane. The only part of Federal Street then used was a short lane from India Street southwest. Hampshire Street was a short lane from Congress, called Greele's Lane. A lane ran from Center to South Street, where Spring Street now is, "to Marjory's Spring." A short lane extended northwest from Middle Street, near where Exchange Street now is, but had no name to us known. Plum Street was Jones' Lane.

India was the street of the town and was called King Street, but the name given it was "High King Street." On or near this street most of the business of the town was done. Thames Street extended from India, where Commercial now is, a short distance to Preble's wharf, or the ferry. On this street Jedediah Preble lived. Grove Street was laid out in 1727, but was simply the road out of town to the east and that name was not given it until 1858. On the water front there were about twelve short wharves and most of these were destroyed by Mowat.

The Eastern Cemetery contains about seven acres, but in 1775 it was but about half as large as now. In the earliest times the settlers on the Neck began to bury their dead about the lone Norway pine on the side of the hill. That tree stood about six feet south of Parson Smith's monument and was blown down about 1815. The front part of the cemetery, on Congress Street, was the parade ground which afterwards was added to this "ancient field of graves."

Here was located the pillory and whipping-post and at the eastern end was the pound. Soldiers were here whipped for misdemeanors during the Revolution. The yard now contains about seventy-five tombs and about five thousand graves. In the old part, probably not over one-half of the graves are marked at all. The tombs are in a good state of preservation and the oldest and largest is Joseph H. Ingraham's, built about 1795, which is said to contain over sixty bodies. The next one was built by Nathaniel Deering. This was the only public burial place until 1829, and a walk among those graves is to commune with the past. The memories of those people, who bravely met the responsibilities of their times, gives one courage to continue the battle of life. Here, no doubt, are buried over one hundred Revolutionary patriots, but many of their graves must be classed with the unknown. This cemetery is the most precious possession of Portland and is indeed "holy ground."

South of the Eastern Cemetery was a swamp. Near the junction of Federal and Exchange Streets was a swamp and a pond, and between Market and Pearl Streets, below where Federal now is, was another pond, and from these ponds ran a brook of considerable size, down, near where Exchange Street is, crossed Fore Street, east of Exchange, where there was a stone bridge about fifteen feet wide. Clay Cove, at the foot of Hampshire Street, made up so that boats passed under an arched bridge on Middle Street to Newbury, where a brook entered the cove. At the head of Free Street was a swamp and for many years after, when people began to build that way, it was thought that

that land would never be fit to build upon and was of little value. There was an orchard on the south corner of Temple and Congress Streets and one about where Cotton Street now is, besides Parson Smith's, Dr. Deane's, and the Brackett's. The tan-yard of Dea. William Cotton was at the foot of the street that was afterwards named for him. At the foot of Center Street was a brick-yard. Between South and Center Streets, southeast of Spring, was swampy ground. Free Street was laid out in 1772, but was not used until after the war because of the soft swampy condition of the soil.

The new court-house, built in 1774, was fifty feet by thirty feet and stood on the west corner of Middle and India Streets. Here it was that the inhabitants met October 18, 1775, and refused to surrender their guns when Mowat burned the town. The old court-house was moved to Greele's Lane in 1774 for a town-house, where it was burned the next year. The custom-house, from which the stamps were taken in 1766, was on the south corner of Middle and India Streets, opposite the new court-house, and was a dwelling-house before it was used for that purpose.

The First Parish church stood where the stone church now stands, side to the street with the steeple on the southwest end, but was then unpainted. The same vane is on the present church, and on the chandelier is a cannon ball fired by Mowat into the "Old Jerusalem," as this meeting-house was afterwards called. This old church was taken down in 1825. St. Paul's church stood where the west corner of Middle and Church Street now is. Parson Smith's house was

opposite the head of India Street on Congress, and was built for him by the town in 1728. It was for many years the best in town and was the first house to have room paper which was fastened on with nails. In 1740, it was spoken of as "the papered room." It was a garrison house in 1734, and was the last house to burn in the destruction of the town in 1775. Parson Smith was short of stature, pretty full in person and erect, but had a feeble voice. He would have been a successful business man but cannot be called a zealous patriot, judging from the entries in his journal, although he no doubt wished for the success of the cause. He enlisted in May, 1781, his slave Romeo, in the army, for three years, giving him his liberty in consideration of one-half of his wages. Capt. Coulson, the Tory, lived on India Street, northeast side, a short distance below Federal Street. Next to the new court-house on Middle Street, was an engine-house in which was a new fire-engine.

The two hills were formerly covered with trees and bushes and Dr. Deane, to prevent the total destruction of the primitive forest, purchased the remaining standing trees on Munjoy and they were permitted to remain during his life, but soon after his death they fell prey to the avarice of man.

A two story building in those times was sizable; a three story one was high and there were but few in town. Many of the buildings were unpainted and the general color of those that were was red, although a few were painted a light color. There was no bank or newspaper in town and a post-office was not estab-

lished here until May, 1775, with Samuel Freeman as postmaster. Joseph Barnard was post-rider and the first arrival of the mail was June tenth. The number of letters mailed at this office in 1775 did not average five a week, and the postage to Boston was ten and one-half pence. The mails were sent but once a week and were very irregular. As late as 1790 it took a letter sixteen days to come from Philadelphia, thirteen from New York and three from Boston. At the beginning of the war the merchants were having a profitable trade with Great Britain, which may account for their hesitancy in the early months of 1775.

This may give some idea of the extent and condition of Falmouth Neck at the opening of the Revolutionary war, but let us now draw nearer to the town and examine the buildings and localities that were connected with the struggle for our country's independence.

THE TAVERNS.

It is said that there were three taverns on the Neck during the war, but a traveler could put up at the house of Moses Shattuck, the jailer, in Monument Square. Such entertainment seems to have been a custom of the times and probably added to the income of the jailer.

In those taverns our forefathers met and resolved what they would and what they would not do. They were also places of good cheer and the resort of men of social tastes, who in those days did not hesitate at the flowing bowl. Here often fun went furious and

the wags found plenty of opportunity for their wit. The taverns were Alice Greele's, Marston's and John Greenwood's.

Alice Greele's tavern was a one story building, large on the ground and had six windows in the front, with the front door in the middle. The bar-room was the north room on the left of the front door. The house stood on the east corner of Congress and Hampshire Streets. In this house met the county convention of September 24, 1774, but the afternoon session was held in the town-house near by. Court was held here several times during the war, and in 1776 she charged for the room ten shillings and sixpence, and the next year two pounds and eight shillings.

This tavern was the resort of the patriots of the town, where they met to hear the news and consult on the situation of affairs; but as a place of social meetings it is best known to us now. Willis says, "It was common for clubs and social parties to meet at the taverns in those days and Mrs. Greele's on Congress street was a place of fashionable resort for old and young wags, before as well as after the Revolution. It was the Eastcheap of Portland and was as famous for baked beans as the 'Boar's Head' was for sack, although we would by no means compare honest Dame Greele with the more celebrated though less deserving hostess of Falstaff and Poins."

Alice Greele saved her house during the bombardment in 1775, by remaining in it and extinguishing the flames when it caught fire. It is said that a hot shot landed in her back yard and fired the chips.

She took it up in a pan and threw it into the lane and said to a man, then passing, "They will have to stop firing soon, for they have got out of bombs and are making new balls and can't wait for them to cool." The tavern was kept by her over thirty years. She died about 1795; her daughter Mary sold the house in 1802, and in 1846 it was cut in two, moved to Ingraham's Court, off of Washington Street, where it burned in 1866. About 1820, it was four respectable tenements and the house had no addition.

Alice Greele's maiden name was Ross and she married in 1746 Thomas Greele, who died about 1758. They had, at least, two sons and two daughters. The sons, William and John, were no doubt soldiers.

Marston's tavern was a two-storied, hipped-roof building, with dormer windows, and stood in Monument Square where the stores, numbers 7 and 9, occupied by George E. Thompson and Thomas L. Merrill, now stand. The building was originally of one story, but was probably altered to two stories by John Marston before the war. The stable and sheds are still standing in the rear. The tavern building was moved to State Street in 1834, and is now standing on the southwest side, near York Street, but the roof has been changed. When it was moved one of Mowat's shot was found in the chimney, which then stood in the center of the house.

John Marston bought this tavern in 1762 of Robert Millions and his wife Mary, who was a daughter of Thomas Bolton of Windham. Marston was an innholder then, and kept this tavern until his death

about 1770. He was succeeded by his wife Susannah, assisted probably by her son Brackett, until 1779, when he became the landlord, and in 1782, his brother Daniel succeeded him. Brackett Marston's children sold the tavern in 1795 to Caleb and Eunice (Bailey) Graffam. He was a soldier from Windham, and they had probably kept it sometime then as Columbian tavern. Caleb Graffam was a post-rider to Hallowell and Wiscasset, having commenced in 1791. He sold the tavern to Josiah Paine, also a soldier and post-rider, in 1810. Thomas Folsom kept it in 1812 and 1815, and the name remained the same. Then came Timothy Boston, after him, in 1823, Israel Waterhouse and the last landlord was Aspah Kendall, who kept it until 1834, when it was moved.

This tavern's historical associations are with the year 1775, as it was to this house that Col. Samuel Thompson's company carried Capt. Mowat when he was captured on Munjoy Hill, in May, 1775; and it was here that Capt. Wentworth Stuart and his men carried the five men, the crew of Coulson's boat, who were captured by Capt. Samuel Noyes and his company, at the mouth of Presumpscot River, June twenty-second.

Greenwood's tavern was built in 1774 by John Greenwood on the south corner of Middle and Silver Streets, but was not finished by him. The house was of three stories with brick ends, but with no windows in the ends. In its erection was one of the first attempts at using bricks in building the walls of a house on Falmouth Neck. Several times the soldiers were

ordered to assemble at this tavern during the war, and in 1776 a court martial was held here. In 1783, Mr. Greenwood sold the house to Joseph Jewett who finished it, moved there and kept store in the lower eastern room. The building was taken down by Hon. John M. Wood, to make room for stores, about 1858.

DWELLINGS STANDING.

Besides Marston's tavern, there are now, at least, six houses that were standing in Portland, at the commencement of the Revolutionary war. Three of them have been moved from the sites they occupied at that time and all have been somewhat changed. These houses were Parson Deane's, John Cox's, Benjamin Larrabee, 3d's, Joshua Freeman's, Joseph McLellan's and Brice McLellan's.

Dr. Deane's is now the Chadwick House, and was formerly located where the Farrington Block stands, but back from the street. Dr. Deane came here in 1764, and was then thirty-one years of age. The Neck had about one hundred and fifty dwelling-houses, and a population of about one thousand. His salary was one hundred pounds. In 1765, he purchased the three acres of land for sixty pounds, and began the erection of this house. He purchased thirty-eight thousand bricks for the chimneys, raised the frame July eleventh, and paid Col. Preble thirty-four pounds for rum and oil. The next January he bought the paper for two rooms and the entry, which cost him forty pounds. He bought himself a chaise and paid one hundred and eighty pounds for that, and then

there were but two others in town. He married April 3, 1766, Anne, daughter of Moses Pearson, Esq., who was about five years older than himself. In July, 1767, he put up lightning-rods. The house then was but two-storied with a four-sided roof of two pitches and a short ridgepole. There were three dormer windows in the front, and the house was painted a light color. Then, there was no building except the church to Wilmot Street, and none on that side of Congress until almost to Casco Street. In the rear of the house was a large orchard. When Mowat burned the town, a shot went through the front of the house and landed in the chimney. The hole in the panel over the fireplace was always covered by a picture and so remained while Dr. Deane lived. He moved three loads of his goods November 3, 1775, and left the house expecting the balance of the town would be destroyed by the man-of-war, Cerebus. The next day the company commanded by Capt. Joseph Pride occupied the house. Pride's Bridge was named for him.

January 16, 1776, Dr. Deane rented at ten pounds per month, three rooms below and one above, with the barn, to James Sullivan, who was the commissary here at that time. Gen. Joseph Frye, who took command here November 25, 1775, also lived in this house. In the summer of 1776, Dr. Deane built himself a one-story, gambrel-roofed house at Gorham, which he called "Smith Green," and the farm he called "Pitchwood Hill." In 1780, he wrote a long poem called "Pitchwood Hill," which closes with these lines: —

Hither I'll turn my weary feet,
Indulging contemplation sweet,
Seeking quiet, sought in vain
In courts, and crowds of busy men;
Subduing av'rice, pride and will,
To fit me for a happier Hill.

Dr. Deane returned to town in 1782, and died in 1814, aged eighty-one years, it being in the fifty-first year of his ministry.

The house was then occupied by Dr. Stephen Cummings and in 1817 was sold to Samuel Chadwick, who sold it to Isaac Lord in 1818, and he added the third story. In 1822, Samuel Chadwick bought it back and it was occupied by Dexter Dana as a first-class boarding-house, then in 1825 by Bradbury C. Atwood for the same purpose. About 1835, Samuel Chadwick, a son of the former owner, bought and remodeled the house and it was occupied by his family until 1866. Since that time it has not been used as a private residence. In 1876, it was removed to the rear where it now stands.

John Cox's house stands on the west corner of High and York Streets, and was built by him about 1735. He was the first of the name here, and was killed by the Indians at Pemaquid Fort in 1747. This house with an acre of land was set off to his eldest son, Josiah, in 1755. It was much enlarged by his granddaughter, Mrs. Philip Crandall, who occupied it until 1814, when she and her husband moved to Windham. This is the next to the oldest house in Portland and for fifty years after it was built what is now High Street was a cow pasture. Capt. Richard Crockett

owned and occupied this house about forty years and died there about 1880.

The house of Benjamin Larrabee, 3d, is now past its usefulness as a dwelling. It stands in the rear of Machigonne engine-house, but formerly was located about ten feet from Congress Street as it now stands. It was moved back into Mr. Larrabee's garden to make room for the block. This house was built before 1755 and occupied by Benjamin Larrabee, the third of the name, who married Sarah, the daughter of Joshua Brackett. The latter formerly lived in a log house where Gray Street now is, but at the time of the Revolution, about opposite the head of High Street. He died in 1794, aged ninety-three years. In 1755, Joshua and Anthony Brackett, brothers, owned all the land above about where Casco Street now is on Congress Street. The Bramhall lot of four hundred acres may not have been included in this. That land they inherited from their father Joshua, who was a son of Thomas and Mary (Mitton) Brackett, a granddaughter of George Cleaves. Thomas Brackett was killed by the Indians at Clark's Point, near where the gas house now is, in 1676, and his wife with three children was carried to Canada, where she died in the first year of her captivity. The same day, August eleventh, his brother Anthony was captured on the Deering Farm, with his wife Anne Mitton and five children; and her brother Nathaniel Mitton, while offering some resistance, was killed on the spot. Anthony Brackett and his family escaped to Black Point in an old canoe, which his wife mended with a needle

and thread which she found in a cabin. Hon. Thomas B. Reed is a descendant of Thomas Brackett and through his wife Mary Mitton, also of George Cleaves, the first settler. Benjamin Larrabee, 3d, was born in 1735 and died in 1809. The Larrabee house was occupied as a dwelling until about 1890. This lot of land is owned by a descendant of George Cleaves from whom it descended.

Joseph McLellan's house stood on Congress Street (numbers 516-518) nearly opposite Mechanics' Hall, and the one-story wing is now standing at number 106 Preble Street. The house was framed at Gorham in the fall of 1754 by Hugh McLellan and his son William, and erected on Congress Street in the spring of 1755. The other part of the house was of two stories and stood on the lot now numbered 516, and was taken down when the building now standing there was erected.

Joseph McLellan married Mary, the daughter of Hugh McLellan of Gorham, in 1756. His brother James married her sister Abigail the month before. Joseph died in this house July 5, 1820, aged 88 years, and was buried in the Eastern Cemetery, but there is no inscription to his memory. When the house was built, there was but one other house on that side of Congress Street to Stroudwater bridge which was built in 1734. Except where the woods intervened, there was an unobstructed view of the harbor, the islands and Back Cove. The house stood in the midst of a large garden and the wing was at right angles with the other part, front to the street, and had the

same dormer windows as now. Through the center of this part was the main entrance to the house, and on the door was an ornamental brass knocker. About 1866, it was removed to Preble Street and is perfectly sound to-day.

Joseph McLellan was the son of Brice McLellan, and he and his sons, Hugh and Stephen, were Revolutionary patriots and became prominent merchants of the town. He was one of the committee, commissary of the Bagaduce expedition and commanded a company in the service. His son Stephen built the "Jose House," and Hugh the "McLellan-Wingate House," on High and Spring Streets, both in the year 1800. At the latter house, in 1825, Gen. Lafayette paid his respects to the daughters of General Henry Knox and General Henry Dearborn.

Joshua Freeman's house stands on the southwest side of Grove street, back from the street, and is better known as the Jeremiah Dow house. Joshua Freeman was a brother-in-law of Dr. Deane, both having married the daughters of Moses Pearson, Esq. Here Dr. Deane went when he left his house November 2, 1775. Mr. Freeman has left to us a description of a fashionably dressed young man of 1750, it being a description of himself when he went courting. He wore "a full bottomed wig, a cocked hat, scarlet coat and breeches, white vest and stockings, shoes with buckles and two watches, one on each side." He died there in 1796, aged about sixty-six years. His father was named Joshua, and before the war kept a tavern on the corner of Middle and Exchange Streets, and was known

as "Fat Freeman" for his size. He died in 1770, aged seventy years.

Brice McLellan's house is the oldest in town and was probably built before 1733. The brick basement has since been added. It originally was a small one-story house near the shore, and stood where it now stands on York Street, near High (number 97). In this house Brice McLellan, the first of the name here, lived and reared a family who have played well their part in our town. He was an Irish Presbyterian, a weaver by trade, and came over about 1730. His sons were Alexander, Joseph, James, and William. Alexander lived at Cape Elizabeth; Joseph and William at Falmouth Neck; and James married Abigail McLellan, a daughter of Hugh of Gorham, where they lived and had ten children. William lived on Middle Street, present number 235. He was one of the committee in the Revolution, and was in command of the transport sloop Centurion, that carried Capt. Peter Warren's Falmouth Neck company to Bagaduce in 1779. He was the grandfather of Capt. Jacob McLellan, who as the war mayor of the city sustained the reputation of his ancestors. Col. Clark S. Edwards, of the Fifth Maine Regiment, is a grandson of James and Abigail McLellan of Gorham, therefore a great-grandson of both Brice and Hugh, the first of the name here.

FORTIFICATIONS.

Concerning the forts of the Revolution on Falmouth Neck, but little has been written because there

has been but little of their history preserved. In the summer of 1776, at least ten cannon were sent here from Boston, but it was ordered that only those be sent that had one or both trunions broken off. Forty rounds of ammunition were ordered for each cannon. In September, it was ordered to supply Falmouth with fifteen hundred pounds of powder, twenty 32-pound, twenty 18-pound, one hundred and fifty-two 12-pound, one hundred and fifty-four 9-pound and one hundred and two 6-pound cannon balls, which shows the caliber of the guns mounted here.

The fortifications were known as the Upper Battery, the Lower Battery, the Great Fort on the Hill, the Magazine Battery and Fort Hancock on the present site of Fort Preble.

The Upper Battery was located on Free Street on the hill where the Anderson houses now stand and extended to the next lot. This is said to have been the location of a garrison house before 1690. The Upper Battery was probably built in 1776, and that year at one time Benjamin Miller was in charge with ten men. It is not known whether there were more than two guns mounted here, but of those one was a 32-pounder. Probably soon after the war Nathaniel Deering built a windmill on this hill and when Free Street was laid out it was called Windmill Street for a long time. Willis says the windmill was finally moved over the ice to the Ilsley Farm, at Back Cove. The Anderson houses were built in 1803 by Jonathan Stevens and Thomas Hovey, who came from Gorham.

The original part of the Orphan Asylum was built by Ralph Cross in 1791.

The Lower Battery was on the rocky bluff, about fifteen feet above high-water mark, at the foot of Hancock Street, which was the site of Fort Loyal. The fort lot is said to have comprised about half an acre of land. When the Grand Trunk Railway was built the bluff was leveled off, and probably a part of the depot and the engine-house stand on the fort lot. Here, at this battery, was built a platform and there were mounted, at least, one 18-pound and three or four 12-pound guns, perhaps more. Moses Fowler was chief gunner at one time in 1776, and had fifteen men. The main guard here, in September, 1776, consisted of one commissioned officer, one sergeant, one corporal, and twenty privates. They were relieved every twenty-four hours at eight o'clock in the morning and were required to place a sentinel in each of the other forts. The old guard-room of Fort Loyal was still standing near the fort where the men were quartered. In September, 1776, Capt. Abner Lowell kept a sergeant's guard here, whose duty was to have one sentinel on the platform day and night to hail vessels coming into the harbor and going out, and no vessel was allowed to pass this battery without a pass signed by order of the committee of the town. At this fort was probably raised the first American flag on Falmouth Neck, July 18, 1778, which the guard saluted with a 12-pounder.

At sometime during the war a battery may have

been built where Fort Sumner Park now is on North Street to defend the approach from Back Cove, as it is stated that there was an old earthern breastwork there in 1795, when they were building Fort Sumner.

The "Great Fort on the Hill," as it was called, was probably on the brow of Munjoy Hill, about where Fort Allen Park now is, and the earthworks there may have been a part of it. Willis and Goold both located it there, although there seems to be no positive evidence of its location now. That seems to be the most reasonable place considering the short range of the guns at that time. This was probably a long earthwork extending around that corner of the hill; but from the orders, the indications are that either it never was completed or that it was not then considered an important fortification, except in case of an attack from that quarter. The fort was probably begun in November, 1775, when the people were alarmed by the Cerebus, and here it was that the people worked all that Sunday, the fourth, as Parson Deane says, "all the people at work to-day and there could be no meeting." They mounted two 6-pounders, which alarmed Capt. Symons.

The same location was used for a hospital for the twenty-six sick soldiers of Col. Winfield Scott's regiment who were captured at Queenstown in 1812, and were brought here the next December. More than half of these soldiers died, and they, with eight small-pox patients who died in 1824, are buried within the iron fence on the Eastern Promanade, north of Congress Street.

The Magazine Battery, was in Monument Square and mounted five guns, probably small caliber. This battery was under the charge of an officer and ten men. The guns in all the batteries were "exercised" every day and provided with six rounds of ammunition. The magazine was the jail, erected in 1769, which was eighteen feet by thirty-eight feet, built of hemlock timber twelve inches thick, lined on the inside, top, bottom and sides with iron bars and planked over the bars. It had a chimney in the middle. There were two windows for each room and chamber, with nine panes of seven by nine glass, properly grated. There was but one outside door. In 1776, one side was used for the magazine and the other for the prisoners. Wheeler Riggs had charge of the magazine and battery. He was a carpenter, and was the only man from Falmouth killed at Bagaduce, in 1779. He was stooping over, fixing a gun-carriage, when a cannon ball hit a tree near, glanced and struck him on the back of his neck. He was married and lived on Plum Street

The jailer's house was near the jail. Nearly in front of where the Soldier's Monument now stands, was the hay-scale, which the town had purchased for twenty-seven pounds. In the time of the war, there were no houses on the northwest side of Congress Street in this square, also no Elm, Preble or Federal Streets as now. There were a few buildings on the southeast side besides Marston's tavern. West of the square, Congress Street was simply a country road, leading out of town.

EVENTS OF THE WAR.

The prominent events of the Revolution can be said to have begun on the Neck soon after the passage of the stamp act, for a mob marched to the custom-house, in January, 1766, and demanded the stamps, which were carried through the streets on a long pole to a bonfire, probably on the parade-ground, where they were burned in the presence of a concourse of approving people. The news of the repeal of the act was received here May sixteenth, and there was great rejoicing. Parson Smith says: — "Our people are mad with drink and joy: bells ringing, drums beating, colors flying, the court-house illuminated and some others, and a bonfire, and a deluge of drunkenness." The parson lighted up his house.

In August, 1767, a mob removed Enoch Ilsley's rum and sugar from the custom-house, which had been seized for breach of the revenue act, and a mob, in July, 1768, rescued from the jail two men, John Huston and John Sanborn, who had been convicted for being concerned in the riot. November 13, 1771, Arthur Savage, the controller, was mobbed. This was an outbreak of popular feeling and three men named Sandford, Stone and Armstrong were committed for trial on the charge of participating in it. The enforcement of the revenue laws, which had been practically a dead letter, was obnoxious to the colonists. The cause of the mob is a question, although William Tyng's schooner was seized for smuggling only a fortnight before, which may have had connection with it.

In February, 1774, the committee here wrote to that of Boston that "neither the Parliament of Great Britain, nor any other power on earth, has any right to lay tax on us except by our consent or the consent of those whom we choose to represent us." Also, "Our cause is just and we doubt not fully consonant to the will of God. In Him, therefore, let us put our trust, let our hearts be obedient to the dictates of His sovereign will and let our hands and hearts be always ready to unite in zeal for the common good and transmit to our children that sacred freedom which our fathers have transmitted to us and which they purchased with their purest blood."

When the port of Boston was closed by the British, June fourteenth, it caused a strong feeling of sympathy here. The patriots muffled the First Parish bell and tolled it without cessation from sunrise until nine o'clock in the evening. At a meeting of the inhabitants the committee were ordered to write a sympathizing letter to the committee of Boston "acquainting them that we look upon them as suffering for the common cause of American liberty, that we highly applaud them for the determination they have made to endure their distresses till they shall know the result of a Continental Congress, and would beg leave to recommend them to persevere in their patience and resolution, and that so far as our abilities will extend we will encourage and support them."

September twenty-first, about five hundred men from the eastern towns of the county assembled here,

about one-half being armed, "to humble" Sheriff William Tyng, who also held a colonel's commission under Gen. Gage. A county convention, composed of delegates of the nine towns, met the same day at Alice Greele's tavern to take into consideration the alarming condition of the public affairs. The people who were then near Tyng's house (south corner of Franklin and Middle Streets) chose a committee to see if the convention would summon Tyng before them, which they did, when he was asked if he would act under the late act of Parliament, and he replied that he had not and would not except by the general consent of the county. This reply was read to the people, who voted that it was satisfactory, and they then returned peaceably to their homes.

In the afternoon, at the town-house, the convention passed resolutions, of which it has been said: — "In point of clearness, ability and sound reasoning they will not suffer in comparison with any productions of that day."

On March 2, 1775, the sloop John and Mary, Capt. Henry Hughes, arrived with the rigging, sails and stores for Capt. Thomas Coulson's mast-ship, then building, and the committee of inspection decided by a vote of fourteen to five, that to allow her to land her cargo and fit out the vessel would be a violation of the compact of the colonies called the "American Association." They directed that the vessel's outfit be returned to England without breaking the packages. This decision was confirmed by the county convention of March eighth, by a vote of twenty-three

to three. This resulted in the coming of Capt. Henry Mowat in the sloop-of-war Canceau, to protect Coulson in the rigging and loading of his ship, and subsequently the burning of the town. Capt. Coulson built the mast-ship for Mr. Garnet, a merchant of Bristol, England.

The following is an extract from a letter of the chairman of the committee to Samuel Freeman, dated April 12, 1775.

Coulson no sooner arrived, but the next day had the Canseau Man-of-War up to town, and his old Bristol Sloop alongside of his new ship taking out the goods. But it seems he cannot get any of our people to help him; and I do not think he will be able to get his Ship loaded and rigged, unless he gets Man-of-War's men to do it. And I hear Capt. Mowat has been pressing men; some he releases and some retains; and it is suggested by some that his design is to supply Captain Coulson with men from his own Ship.

At a meeting of the committee of inspection held March 3, 1775, there were present, Enoch Freeman, Daniel Ilsley, Benjamin Titcomb, Enoch Ilsley, John Waite, Stephen Waite, Benjamin Mussey, William Owen, Samuel Knight, Jedediah Cobb, John Butler, Jabez Jones, Smith Cobb, Peletiah March, Pearson Jones, Joseph Noyes, Samuel Freeman, Joseph McLellan and Theophilus Parsons. They voted, among other matters, "That this committee will exert their utmost endeavors to prevent all the inhabitants of this town from engaging in riots, tumults and insurrections."

At the March town-meeting, in 1775, a general overturn in the town officers in favor of the times was made. The town had been dominated by the Tory

and timid element who whined for inaction. This was the first effort of the patriots to assume control of affairs, but it was not until Mowat had burned the town that they decided on an aggressive policy.

The news of the Battle of Lexington was received here April twenty-first before daylight. The war had actually begun. The militia gathered and some started for Cambridge, but after a march of about thirty miles were ordered to return. Then was raised Col. Edmund Phinney's regiment in which was Capt. David Bradish's company from the Neck.

The selectmen sent Capt. Joseph McLellan and Capt. Joseph Noyes to secure powder for the town, and with them was sent the following letter to the Committee of Safety at Boston.

Falmouth, April 26, 1775.

Gentlemen : — At this alarming and dangerous time, we find our stock of Powder greatly deficient therefore have sent some money by the bearers to purchase, where they can find it ; and if they cannot get any this side of Cambridge, have directed them to wait on you for advice, presuming that you can direct them where it can be had.

We rely on your conduct under God, in our righteous cause, for our deliverance from our present calamities, and are gentlemen your most obedient humble servants.

In the early part of May, occurred the " Thompson War " in which Col. Phinney's men played a prominent part. The histories of that event are all written from the standpoint of the timid merchants and Tories. The men that composed that " mob from the country," as Mowat called them, were the most respectable and prominent men in the towns where they lived. They were simply zealous patriots who showed their valor

on many a hard-fought battle-field in the war that followed. The capture of Mowat by Col. Thompson's men was no part of their plan, but was simply a circumstance. They intended to capture his vessel, and the officers had resolved themselves into a board of war, admitted the officers of the Neck companies, voted by a considerable majority that Capt. Mowat's vessel ought to be destroyed, and had appointed a committee of their number to consider in what manner it should be done. Parson Deane says, under date of May eleventh, "Committee of militia remain sitting." It was only by the most strenuous efforts of the people of Falmouth Neck, that the soldiers were prevented from carrying out their purpose. Now we can see that they should have been allowed to have attempted it. Mrs. Anne Wilson, a daughter of Col. Samuel March, who was a girl of eighteen at the time, said when she was a very old lady, "that if the Committee of Safety had followed Col. Thompson's advice in May, Falmouth would not have been burned in October." The woods where Thompson's "spruce" company concealed themselves were between the Grand Trunk and Tukey's Bridge, and were a growth of small pines. There were no bridges there then. Tukey's Bridge was not built until 1796.

When Lieut. Hogg, threatened to burn the town if Capt. Mowat was not released at a certain hour, the following is said to have been the reply of Col. Thompson. He had an impediment in his speech, and his answer was: — "F-f-fire away! f-f-fire away! every gun you fire, I will c-c-cut off a joint." They

sacked Coulson's house and drank his liquor, which he expected to drink himself; but such is war.

Col. Thompson was a portly man, somewhat corpulent, not tall, but apparently of robust constitution. He had strong mental powers, was witty in conversation, but uneducated, and is said to have been fierce in appearance. He wrote to the Committee of Safety April 29, 1775: "Finding that the sword is drawn first on their side, that we shall be animated with that noble spirit that wise men ought to be until our just rights and liberties are secured to us. Sir, my heart is with every true son of America. If any of my friends inquire for me, inform them that I make it my whole business to pursue those measures recommended by the Congresses."

Calvin Lombard of Gorham fired the first gun at Falmouth Neck. It was not the one heard round the world, but it has been ringing in our ears ever since. He was inspired to the act by the spirit of liberty, not Coulson's rum, as that was not flavored with rebellion.

The following petition of a committee of the militia, who sacked Coulson's and Tyng's houses, to the General Court, over a year after the event, shows that they fully realized what they were doing and is proof that they were no drunken mob, but patriots, who came here to do their country important service and were willing to sacrifice their lives, if necessary, to rid the colonies of a troublesome enemy.

To the Great and General Court or Assembly of said state:

May it please your honors: Whereas we the said militia, being joined by a number of the militia from the eastward under the com-

mand of Colonel Samuel Thompson, did on the 7th day of May 1775, enter on the beach at Falmouth in the County aforesaid and took from hence under the muzzles of the man-of-war's guns, two boats belonging to one John Coulson, an absconding Tory and an enemy to this country: we also took possession of the said Coulson's house and took thence a number of barrels of pitch and sundry articles of dry goods, all of which we conveyed by teams into the country and there hired a store for them: we also took possession of the house of William Tyng, late sheriff of said County, another absconding Tory, who was then on board the man-of-war, aiding and assisting the said Coulson, who was rigging and loading a ship under the protection of the man-of-war and bound to Great Britain contrary to the resolve of the Continental Congress: we took from said Tyng, who is now in the service of the British King, one large silver cup and one silver tankard.

And your Honour's petitioners are sensible that the said goods have been and are still exposed to loss and spoil and as we humbly conceive we are liable to render an account of said goods to the Legislative power of this state, we your petitioners therefore humbly pray your Honours that in your wisdom you would give directions that the said goods may be disposed of to pay cost of taking, transporting, and storing, and to |what use overplus money shall be appropriated.

Dated at Scarborough the 21st day of Oct. A. D. 1776.

Richard Mayberry	Lemuel Milliken
Joseph Rice	Nathan Poole
Jonathan Milliken	Enoch Froste

Committee.

(Ref. Am. Archives Vol. 3, page 401.)

[To be continued.]

THE ROGERS FAMILY OF GEORGETOWN.

BY JOSIAH H. DRUMMOND.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, Oct. 29, 1896.

In the preparation of a Drummond genealogy, I had occasion to trace the history of the Rogers family and collected so much, that I have deemed it worth while to prepare it for publication, especially as I have found the statement of it in town histories to be very imperfect and, in many instances, erroneous.

The descendants also are very numerous and include many who have been prominent in our state. In the following when the surname is not given "Rogers" is meant.

I. George Rogers.[1]

According to the statements upon their respective gravestones in Dromore burying-ground in Phipsburg, George Rogers[1] died in Georgetown, now Phipsburg, October 30, 1743, aged eighty-one years; and Isabella, his wife, died December 5, 1743, aged sixty-five years; this fixes 1662 and 1678 as the years of their births. The date of their marriage is not known; and while it is probable that her maiden name was Isabella McCobb, it is not certain; her children were cousins of James McCobb, but the maiden name of his mother is not known, and she may have been Beatrice Rogers, the sister of George.[1]

Tradition, supported by much evidence from other sources, has it that George Rogers[1] came to America

with his whole family from Londonderry, or its immediate vicinity, in Ireland. They were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians.

One tradition says that their oldest son, William, was married before they came and that his young wife accompanied him. A descendant of William, now (1894) living, says that she has often heard her mother (a granddaughter of William) say that her "Uncle George [William's oldest son] was born on the sea and rocked in a tortoise-shell cradle." This George died November 27, 1818, in his ninetieth year; if he was "born on the sea," this fixes the date of the voyage in 1729. But the family did not come to Georgetown till several years later. On the Georgetown records are recorded the births of two Rogers children, in each of two families (one of them William's) in 1738; in William's family there were four older children, the birth of neither of whom is recorded there, although the births of all born in 1738, and subsequently, are recorded. Considering the law and the usage in those times to record the births of those born in the town and no others, it is safe to conclude that these families came to Georgetown in 1737. Quite an extensive examination of the records gives no indication of their having been there earlier.

On the other hand, a grandson of Hugh, who was the fourth child of William, says that Hugh was born in Londonderry, Ireland, in 1736. For reasons to be presently stated, I am satisfied that Hugh was born in Londonderry, New Hampshire, instead of Londonderry, Ireland.

During the time intervening between their arrival in this country and their coming to Georgetown, they lived quite certainly, in Londonderry, New Hampshire, or its vicinity.

In the History of Londonderry, New Hampshire, it is stated that in 1722 [probably two years earlier] Hugh Rankin arrived at Londonderry with his family, from the county of Antrim in Ireland. He had nine daughters "distinguished for their personal appearance and for their accomplishments." The youngest died young, but all the rest married. One, Joan, married November 17, 1721, in Londonderry, John Crombie, who came over about 1720. The date of this marriage shows that Rankin came over before 1722.

Another daughter married James Cochrane. "The eighth married a Mr. Rogers, who removed into the state of Maine, where their descendants still live." This "Mr. Rogers" was William; the age of his wife at the time of her death, shows that she was born in 1710, and, therefore, must have lived in Londonderry eight or ten years before her marriage in 1728, and several years after her marriage before her husband "removed into the state of Maine."

George Rogers' second son married his wife in Pelham; and a grandson married a descendant of John Crombie for his first wife, and a descendant of James Cochrane for his second wife, both from Derry, New Hampshire.

Frances Rogers (daughter of George [1]) is shown by the Boston records to have been published October 3,

1727, and married October 31, 1727; her residence at that time is not stated, but apparently it was in Boston.

Patrick Rodgers of Bristol, for a long time lieutenant of the fort at Pemaquid, has been assumed to have been of another family; but his son William, in a deposition, speaks of David Allen, who married Frances Rogers, as his uncle, showing that Patrick did belong to this family. Patrick Rodgers in a deposition given in 1773, says that he was at Georgetown in 1720 or 1721, engaged in the fishing business, but being then a boy of about fifteen.

From all the evidence, I conclude that this Rogers family "came over" in 1720 or 1721, probably with the Crombies and Cochranes, and settled at Londonderry, New Hampshire; that some of the children went to other places in quest of employment; and the old people moved to Georgetown in 1737 with the most of their family.

II. George[1] and Isabella Rogers had the following children, all born before they came to this country: of course there may have been others, who died young.

2. William[2], b. about 1702.
3. George[2], b. about 1704.
4. Patrick[2], b. about 1706.
5. Frances[2], b. about 1708.
6. Margaret[2], b. about 1710.
7. Beatrice[2], b. about 1717.

Margaret[2] married "Capt. John Parker" and "died May 22, 1775, aged sixty-five years;" no children.

2.

III. WILLIAM ROGERS[1] (*George*[2]) was born in Ireland about 1702: he married Dinah Rankin daughter of Hugh Rankin of Londonderry, New Hampshire, born about 1710: she died February 15, 1749, aged thirty-nine years: he married in 1750 (published March 30, 1750), Ruth Gray. He died February 23, 1763, aged sixty-one, according to the inscription on his gravestone in Dromore burying-ground, leaving his wife surviving.

Children, the first four born probably in Londonderry, New Hampshire, and the others in Georgetown.

+ 8. George[3], b. in 1729.
+ 9. Thomas[3], b. in 1731.
+ 10. Jennny[3], b. June 25, 1733.
+ 11. Hugh[3], b. in 1736.
+ 12. Margaret[3], b. Feb'y 9, 1738.
+ 13. Ann[3], b. May 6, 1741.
+ 14. William[3], b. Oct. 11, 1743.
+ 15. John[3], b. June 20, 1746.

By second wife,

+ 16. Robert[3], b. Apl 10, 1752.

The will of William "Rodgers" of Georgetown, husbandman, dated March 15, 1760, proved May 11, 1763, states that he lived "on the eastern side of Waney gants marshes," and mentions wife Ruth, sons George, Thomas, Hugh ("who has been the staff of my old age"), William, John and Robert; and daughters Jean Kendal, Margaret Rodgers, and Ann Reed; speaks of a plan of lands in the hands of "Brother McCobb;" and makes his wife and sons, George and Hugh, executors; witnesses John Parker, James Mc-

Cobb and George Rodgers. Ruth declined to serve as executrix. Lincoln Co. Prob. Records, p. 8.

3.

III. George Rogers[2] (*George*[1]) was born in Ireland about 1704: he married, about 1742, Ann Ferguson, daughter of John Ferguson of Pelham, New Hampshire, born in 1724. She died September 7, 1768, aged forty-four years, and he married August 3, 1769, Sarah Wyman, daughter of Francis; he died January 29, 1801, and she, November 10, 1804.

Children, born in Georgetown: —

By first wife: —

+ 17. Isabella[3], b. Apl 12, 1743.
+ 18. John[3], b. Apl 20, 1745.
+ 19. Mary[3], b. Mar. 30, 1747.
— 20. George[3], b. Sept. 22, 1749; d. young.
— 21. David[3], b. Sept. 25, 1752; d. young.
— 22. Thomas[3], b. Feby 8, 1755; d. young.
+ 23. Ann[3], [Nancy] b. Apl 13, 1757.
+ 24. Margaret[3], b. Aug. 25, 1759.
+ 25. Alexander[3], b. Oct. 16,1761.
+ 26. Beatrice[3], [Betridge, Betsey] b. Feby 27, 1764.
+ 27. William[3], b. July 3, 1766.
+ 28. Jane[3], b. Aug. 17, 1768.

By second wife: —

+ 29. George[3], Dec. 21, 1770.
+ 30. Francis[3], b. Feby 11, 1773.
+ 31. Nathaniel[3], b. July 28, 1776.
— 32. Sarah[3], b. Jan. 4, 1778; d. young.

John Ferguson of Pelham, New Hampshire, in his will dated May 22, 1753, mentions his daughter Ann Rogers among the children of his first wife.

Francis Wyman of Georgetown, in his will dated August 23, 1769, mentions his daughter Sarah Rogers.

4.

III. PATRICK ROGERS[2] [RODGERS] (*George*[1]) was born in Ireland in 1706; he married Anna —— and settled in Bristol as early as 1737: he died November 24, 1796, aged ninety, and she died July 1, 1758, aged about forty.

Children, born in Bristol: —

+ 33. George[3], b.——
+ 34. Frances[3], b.——
+ 35. Jane[3], b.——
— 36. William[3], b. in 1752; d. unm. Nov. 26, 1815.
— 37. Elizabeth[3], b. in 1743; d. unm. Jan. 20, 1830.
— 38. Mary[3], b. in 1756; d. unm. Sept. 27, 1847.
— 39. John[3], b. ——; d. July 15, 1760.

These are all named in his will, except John; they are given in the order named in the will, but that is not the order of births, unless the ages or dates of death are erroneously given in the History of Bristol.

He spelled his name "Rodgers" and it is so inscribed on his gravestone.

It was formerly assumed that Patrick Rodgers was not of the Georgetown family, but that he came over with Dunbar and was a soldier and officer at the fort. But his son William in his testimony, given before the commissioners in 1811, said that David Allen, who married Frances Rogers, was his uncle. Patrick Rogers, in a deposition given in May 1773, says that he had been "a lieutenant of the Fort at Bristol or Pemaquid for a long time" and was about sixty-six

years old; that he lived in Georgetown in the year 1720 or 1721; that five or six years afterwards he was in the fishing business along the coast and about 1729, knew James Bailey, Capt. Thomas Henderson and others in that vicinity; and (in substance) had been very well acquainted with the people at Pemaquid down to the time of giving his deposition.

William Rogers[3] was born at Fort Frederic, in Bristol; he was selectman in 1785; he bought out the heirs of his Uncle David Allen, to whom Dunbar had sold his garden.

Patrick Rodgers[2] served the town as treasurer from 1765 to 1777. His will dated October 2, 1794, proved September 11, 1797, mentions eldest son George; heirs of his eldest daughter Frances, late the wife of James Huston; daughter Jane, widow of Edward Young, deceased, and son William Rodgers; and daughters Elizabeth Rodgers and Mary Rodgers. Lincoln Probate Records, page 297.

5.

III. Frances Rogers[2] (*George*[1]) was born in, or near, Londonderry, Ireland, about 1708; she married in Boston, October 31, 1727 [published in Boston, October 3, 1727], David Allen, born about 1704; he died in 1744, and she October 15, 1797. Children born in Bristol: —

+ 40. Isabella Allen[3], b. in 1728.
+ 41. Thomas Allen[3], b. in 1730.
— 41 (a). Anna Allen[3], b. in 1732; d. unm. July 31, 1815.
+ 41 (b). David Allen[3], born in 1734; lost at sea in 1761.

In Dromore burying-ground are gravestones inscribed to the memory of Capt. David Allen, Frances, his widow, Anna, his daughter, and David, his son. The exact dates of the deaths of the mother and daughter are given and the year of the death of the father and son, and the age in years of each of the four; but the year of the death of the father is erroneous as is shown by the date of administration on his estate. The dates of the publishment and marriage are taken from the Boston records.

William Rogers[3] in a deposition says that Capt. David Allen was slain by the savages. Frances Allen of Boston, "widow of David Allen late of Boston, deceased," was appointed administratrix of his estate November 14, 1744; the inventory, amounting to nearly five thousand pounds "old tenor," was returned November 20, 1744; it included a dwelling-house and land in Pond Lane, Boston; the record is very incomplete; it speaks of land at Sheepscot and Pemaquid in York County, and James Clark, William McClenan and Samuel Kennedy of "Sheepscutt" are mentioned as appraisers; and David Cargill of Sheepscot, was one of the sureties on her bond, in which David Allen is described as of "Sheepscutt" and the word crossed out and "Boston" substituted for it. Suffolk, volume 83, page 581.

In Book VIII, page 196, of Lincoln Deeds, is recorded a writing, which purports to be endorsed upon another deed, executed by Frances Allen, dated July 24, 1762, but the deed itself is not recorded.

Frances Allen of Boston, widow, conveyed land at Pemaquid, June 20, 1767. Do. Book IX, page 13.

She released her interest in land at Sheepscot in deed dated June 10, 1769, and acknowledged by her in Boston, June 14, 1769. How long she continued to reside in Boston I have not been able to ascertain, but she and her daughter Anna, had removed to Georgetown, now Phipsburg, in 1787, where she continued to reside till her death, in the house of Col. Andrew Reed.

In a deed dated November 19, 1787, Frances Allen, widow, and Anney Allen, single woman, both of Georgetown, and Allen Malcom and Isabella Malcom, his wife, both of Newcastle, convey to William Rogers of Bristol, three parcels of land, one on Pemaquid Fort Hill, and the others lying on Pemaquid Harbor, to William Rogers. This deed is executed by the Malcoms but not by the Allens; according to Rogers' testimony this deed included Dunbar's garden. Book 21, page 173.

Five days later the Allens conveyed to Rogers, apparently the same land. Book 23, page 196.

It was tradition in Phipsburg that the four buried in Dromore burying-ground comprised the whole of this family; and it was not till the publication of the Lincoln County Probate Records, that I discovered the error in the tradition.

Frances Allen in her will dated September 23, 1788, proved May 25, 1798, mentions her daughter, "Isabele Malcom," her "son, Thomas Alen Heirs," her daughter, Anna Allen, her granddaughter, "Fransis

Rogers," and her "granddafter, Fransis Malcom." The witnesses to the will are Jordan Parker, Margaret Wylie and John Parker; the daughter, Anna, was executrix, and James Bowker and Elijah Drummond were her sureties; the appraisers were Jordan Parker, Mark Langdon Hill and Andrew Reed.

In the account of Anna Allen, executrix, she charges for payment of legacies to Frances Rogers, Isabella Malcom and Frances Malcom.

The will of Anna Allen of Georgetown, dated August 12, 1812, proved August 16, 1815, and allowed March 8, 1816, directs that her body shall be buried near her mother's, "and furnished as soon as convenient with a decent pair of Grave Stones"; it mentions the heirs "of my late Brother David Allen, deceased, the children of Frances Rogers, late deceased in New London in the State of Connecticut," to whom she gives the most of her wearing apparel, personal adornments and house furnishings, "my family coat of arms," silverware, books, etc.; her cousins, Mary Parker, wife of Dea. Jordan Parker, Margaret Butler and "Bettress" Reed; her niece, Frances Malcom; her nephew, Allen Malcom; and gives the residue "to the above-mentioned heirs of my brother David Allen, deceased, and to Frances and Allen Malcom," one-half to "David Allen's heirs" and the other half to be equally divided between Frances Malcom and Allen Malcom, "the children of my late sister, Isabella Malcom, deceased."

The "*Francis* Rogers" of this will must have been the "my granddaughter, Fransis Rogers" of her

mother's will, and probably the wife of one of the grandsons of Patrick Rogers.

The cousins, Mary Parker and Margaret Butler, were daughters of George Rogers, the uncle of the testatrix, and "Bettress" Reed was apparently the oldest child of his daughter, Ann [Nancy] Rogers.

By deed dated August 27, 1736, Shem Drown, for himself and others, conveyed to David Allen of Pemaquid, land in Pemaquid; (1) The lot whereon his house stood, measuring "at the head of the garden four rods," and "thence to the Streate six rods." (2) The lot below his house measuring on the street six rods and eight feet, and running to low water mark "as the fence now stands." York, Book 18, page 120.

By deed dated April 30, 1738, David Cargill conveyed to David Allen of Pemaquid, trader, one-half of his right to two-thirds of a messuage at Sheepscot, the same that Cargill bought of Elias Mulford and Mary, his wife, as descended to her from her father, James Mason, the only son of John Mason, except Cargill's Island and Mason's Neck [concerning which many depositions are found in Book XX, York Deeds, pages 87, etc.]. York, Book 26, page 243.

7.

III. Beatrice Rogers[2] (*George*[1]) was born in Ireland about 1717; she married December 1, 1737, James McCobb "of Townsend," her cousin, born in Londonderry, Ireland, in 1710; she died February 15, 1772, and he married again.

Her children, born in Georgetown, now Phipsburg:—

— 42. John McCobb[3], b. Oct. 8, 1738; d. at Quebec, Nov. 10, 1759; no issue.
+ 43. Isabella McCobb[3], b. Mar. 21, 1740, N. S.
— 44. George McCobb[3], b. Mar. 23, 1742, N. S.; d. unm. Nov. 22, 1760.
+ 45. Samuel McCobb[3], b. Nov. 20, 1744.
— 46. James McCobb[3], b. July 9, 1746; d. without issue, May 17, 1782.
+ 47. Beatrice McCobb[3], b. Jan. 13, 1750, N. S.
— 48. Thomas McCobb[3], b. Oct. 7, 1751; d. Mar. 25, 1776, without issue.
+ 49. Margaret McCobb[3], b. Jan. 7, 1754 [Jan. 2, 1755, T. R.].
+ 50. Frances McCobb[3], b. Jan. 7, 1754 [Jan. 2, 1755, T. R.].
+ 51. Ann [Nancy] McCobb[3], b. April 15, 1756.

The marriage ("by Rev. William McLanichan") was recorded in Georgetown records by James McCobb, when he was town clerk. William Lee, Jr., was appointed administrator of the estate of Thomas McCobb, trader, October 17, 1791, on petition of his "Brethren and Sisters."

James McCobb married, as his second wife, Hannah [Nickels] Miller, June 15, 1774; she was daughter of Alexander Nickels, Sr., and sister to Capt. Alexander Nickels; she died July 17, 1779. By her he had, born in Georgetown, now Phipsburg: —

Molly McCobb, b. Sept. 24, 1775; m. Mark Langdon Hill.

Jeney McCobb, b. Sept. 24, 1775; m. Capt. William Nickels.

Thomas McCobb, b. Feb'y 25, 1778; he married [published Jan. 23, 1810] Rebecca Hill.

James McCobb married for his third wife Mrs. Mary [Langdon] [Storer] Hill of Biddeford. They were published August 28, 1782, and a certificate issued September 11, 1782. She was a sister of Gov. Langdon of New Hampshire, and had been twice married; (1) to John Storer, by whom she was the mother of Ebenezer and the first Woodbury Storer of Portland; (2) to Jeremiah Hill of Biddeford, by whom she was the mother of Hon. Mark Langdon Hill, who married Molly McCobb, and of Rebecca Hill, who married Thomas McCobb, children of her third husband by his second wife. James McCobb died July 17, 1788, aged seventy-eight.

In Dromore burying-ground there is a stone with the following inscription: —

Died in Georgetown, Beatrice Blackburn, wife of Robert Blackburn and mother of James McCobb, Oct., 1750, aged 66.

The will of James McCobb, dated September 10, 1787, mentions wife Mary, son Samuel, daughters Isabel Parker, Elizabeth Mains, Frances Cushing, Margaret Lee, Nancy McCobb; son-in-law [stepson] Mark Langdon Hill, and "three youngest children, son Thomas, and daughters, Polly and Jenny." The will was contested and disallowed by the judge of probate, and, on appeal, his decree was confirmed; her dower was set off to the widow and the estate divided among the heirs, Rachel McCobb, Isabella Parker, Beatrice Mains, Margaret Lee, Frances Cushing, Nancy McCobb, Mary McCobb, Jane McCobb and Thomas McCobb, August 7, 1792. Lincoln Co. Prob. Rec., 185–188.

[To be continued.]

FIELD DAY EXCURSION.

Castine, July 9, 1896.

The members of the Society, having accepted the invitation of the Committee of the Centennial Anniversary of the Incorporation of the Town of Castine, met at the Acadian Hotel in Castine on the morning of July 9, and the following reported as present: —

Rev. H. S. Burrage, Mr. and Mrs. H. W. Bryant, Mr. and Mrs. Ira S. Locke, Mr. Edward Johnson, Miss Johnson, George F. Emery, Nathan Goold, John W. Penney, Marshall Pierce, Hon. O. G. Hall, Mr. and Mrs. George W. Hammond, John M. Glidden, John M. Glidden Jr., Dea. E. F. Duren, Gen. J. P. Cilley, Hon. Joseph Williamson, Gen. Charles W. Roberts, Herbert Harris, Dr. George A. Wheeler, Prof. A. F. Richardson.

Carriages having been placed at the disposition of the committee, members of the Society with friends joined the procession, and visited various places of historic interest in the town. Afterward the party attended the exercises at the First Parish church.

PROCEEDINGS.

October 29, 1896.

A meeting of the Society was held in Baxter Hall, and was called to order at 2.30 P. M. by the President.

A report of the accessions to the library and cabi-

net since the annual meeting was read by the Librarian.

A life-size crayon portrait, in a handsome frame, of the late William Goold of Windham, Maine, was presented as the gift of his daughter, Mrs. Abba Goold Woolson. In Mrs. Woolson's letter she remarks: —

> As for many years father was its corresponding secretary and an active member of the standing committee, and was always deeply interested in all departments of the Society's work, I trust that so good a likeness of him will find an appropriate place within the hall where your regular sessions are held.

The President, Mr. Baxter, paid a brief tribute to the memory of Mr. Goold, and on motion of Rev. Dr. Burrage a special vote of thanks was tendered to Mrs. Woolson for her generous and thoughtful gift.

A letter from the Corresponding Secretary, Mr. Williamson, was read, together with its enclosure, being a copy of a despatch from General Howe to Lord Dartmouth, dated November 27, 1775, contained in Forces Archives, and which appears to have been overlooked by Mr. Willis and others. The despatch reads as follows: —

> Before the departure of General Gage an expedition was concerted by the General and Admiral, for the destruction of Cape Ann and Falmouth, two Seaport towns on the Coast to the Eastward that were distinguished for their opposition to government. The Canceau, and an armed transport, having a small detachment of troops on board were to execute it. From circumstances, it was found inexpedient to make any attack on Cape Ann, whereupon they proceeded to Falmouth, which place, after giving timely warning to the inhabitants for the removal of themselves and their effects, was distroyed on the 18th of October, burning about five hundred houses,

fourteen sea vessels, taking and distroying several others, without any loss on our part.

A memoir of Richard Cutts of Saco, who was a member of Congress 1801 to 1813, was read by Rev. Dr. Burrage.

A photograph of an original portrait of Mr. Cutts, and a view of his early home in Saco, were exhibited.

Rev. Henry O. Thayer read an account of the Indian tragedy at Wiscasset. At its conclusion the following papers were presented as having been read and accepted by the Publication Committee :—

"The Rogers Family of Georgetown, Maine," by Josiah H. Drummond. "Colonel Benjamin Goldthwait, a Provincial Soldier," by Captain Robert G. Carter, U. S. A., and "Falmouth in the Revolution," by Nathan Goold.

It was voted that the papers be accepted for the archives of the Society and subject to the use of the Committee of Publication.

Adjourned.

OTIS RUSSELL JOHNSON.

REMINISCENCES OF BENCH AND BAR.

BY HON. GEORGE F. EMERY.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 6, 1889.

The interest of the writer in courts commenced early in life. When a boy, ten years of age, he was accustomed to dart in slyly to the court-house on Paris Hill, and seat himself in the gallery, where, without fear of molestation, he could have full view of bench and bar, and observe intently all that was said and done. But before allowed, or daring, to do so, he waited at the door alongside the drummer by whose rub-a-dub the court assembled, until the high sheriff, with a sword at his side, leading the procession of judge or judges, followed by all the members of the bar, each carrying a green bag, marched through the open ranks of deputies, with heads erect, and with long tipstaves at "soldier arms." On reaching the court-room, after the judge had seated himself on the bench and the lawyers in their seats, the sheriff, in person the very picture of an executioner, with a stentorian voice demanded silence, and after the usual proclamations from the crier, as directed by the clerk, the court proceeded to business.

At the Supreme Court, in full bench, Chief Justice Mellen gave direction to calling the docket, and the order of hearing of cases for argument. He was an elegant-looking man, tall and stately, of courtly man-

ners, and dressed in the best style both as regards the fineness of cloth and the cut of his coat, not among the least noticeable features accompanying which was his neatly ruffled shirt as white and prim as if fresh from the laundry. The portrait of him now in our Cumberland County court-room is an admirable likeness of the first chief justice, and might well be supplemented by companion pictures of those who have followed him. He was a very dignified man, but free from affectation, apparently and uniformly exhibiting the mien appropriate to his eminence and his station. But he was very sensitive to noise and confusion, and would tolerate nothing uncourtly or disorderly in the court-room from any source. He was extremely fond of music, and his fine, sensitive nature was painfully shocked on hearing a discord anywhere. He served with eminent distinction and public approbation until reaching the age of seventy years, then the constitutional limit of service, and a marble monument in Portland western cemetery marks the spot of his burial, erected by the bar of the state, though mainly by contributions from Cumberland, though embracing some from Oxford and other counties.

The successor of Chief Justice Mellen, Nathan Weston, was in build a very different style of man, of about the same dimensions as our late Gov. Washburn, but in dress and manners fully up to the standard of his predecessor. He presided with dignity and affability, and to very general satisfaction. He had officiated as associate justice from July 1, 1820, up to his elevation to the chief justiceship. The other associate (the

full bench then being confined to three persons) was William Pitt Preble, who, after eight years of service, resigned, and returned to practise at the bar. Later the writer had opportunity to see and hear more of him as a lawyer than judge. The impression left of him was that he was remarkable for the strength and vigor of his intellectual powers, and his self-reliance. He paid little deference to the authority of decided cases, when conflicting with his own views of the law, and his mannerism on such occasions was more supercilious than gracious. He appeared to better advantage in arguing to the court rather than the jury, and despised everything that squinted at fishing for game. His power of invective was almost fearful. Such a man could win respect for his ability, but was not adapted to win popular favor nor a large clientage.

Albion K. Parris succeeded Judge Preble on the bench, but his remarkable career is too familiar to require extended notice. He was one of the most popular men Maine ever produced. If there were wanting any evidence of this, it would be sufficient to cite the fact that more baby sons were named for him than for any other single person. Many of them still survive. He was extremely affable in his manners, an excellent business, matter-of-fact sort of man, more eminent for his practical common-sense than for learning or brilliancy. Though sober-minded a vein of humor occasionally cropped out, as illustrated in an anecdote associated with his residence in Paris. A countryman on one occasion rapped at his front door, opened by him but left ajar, to inquire if he would not

like to buy a goose. Casting his eye backward and observing his wife and her maiden sisters, his reply was, "No, no, sir; we have geese enough already." On turning to leave, the goose vender's departure was arrested by the voice of his wife saying, "Stop a moment, if you please, sir — if you have a good likely gander, bring him in."

Of the Oxford lawyers in attendance at court at the time above mentioned the following is a brief account:—

Samuel F. Brown, of Buckfield, was a citizen much esteemed for his private virtues, but too modest to aspire after legal distinction, and devoted his best ability to farming in which he achieved noticeable success. He was a noted pioneer in the temperance reform in Oxford County. Henry Farwell and Levi Stowell represented Dixfield and vicinity; the former more famous as a militia-general than for anything else, in which capacity he figured largely and with much pride. Mr. Stowell was a well-educated man and a well-read lawyer, a graduate of Bowdoin, and studied law in Portland. His health was not very firm, but he was a very good office lawyer and wise counselor. In that day the principal portion of litigated cases originated at Fryeburg and vicinity, and gave support to Judah Dana, Samuel A. Bradley, Stephen Chase and John S. Barrows. Judge Dana's honorable career is too familiar on the historic page to require further notice in this paper. Messrs. Barrows and Chase were good lawyers, and were ready to fight it out on their respective lines, by day or by night.

Col. Bradley did not remain long at the bar, but removed to Portland and engaged successfully in speculation in eastern lands, and there closed his career. He is remembered as a fine specimen of physical manhood, and of a chivalric and generous disposition. There is a well founded tradition that during Enoch Lincoln's residence at Fryeburg, when society was rent asunder by feuds and wearisome lawsuits, in which every citizen felt obliged to take sides one way or the other, he, Lincoln, challenged one of these Fryeburg lawyers to fight a duel, and that the late Judge Howard was bearer of the message challenging the offender to mortal combat. But the particulars of this remarkable episode are not known and may well remain in oblivion.

Reuel Washburn was the lawyer who represented Livermore and vicinity, and did a large collecting business. He enjoyed public confidence to a high degree, and was so exact in his methods that every sum collected by him was enclosed in a separate wrapper with an endorsement thereon of the amount, by whom, and when paid, and to whom it belonged. He was very slow of speech, but a gentleman, and was very warmly devoted to the Masonic fraternity.

Levi Whitman was the lawyer from Norway, and had a long and lucrative practise. For many years he was county attorney, but in no instance addressed a jury. He did not believe in arguing cases. Soon after the writer commenced practise he was charged with conducting a case against the town of Turner for damages occasioned by a defect in a highway, in which,

much to his trepidation, he was confronted by Judge Howard, as attorney for the town, the trial of which attracted a good deal of interest and consumed several days. It was tried before referees of which Mr. Whitman was chairman. After the evidence was all in a brief conference was held by the referees in the absense of counsel, and at its close the chairman announced that the court had arrived at a conclusion, but if the counsel desired to be heard no objection would be interposed. The town authorities having taken the pains to secure the aid of a Portland lawyer of eminence were not content to have Goliah return without further contesting the ground with the stripling, who in consequence of the illness of his father, had been very unwillingly forced into the unequal field of combat, and greatly to the disappointment of his client. Consequently Judge Howard proceeded to argue his case with usual ability, and at considerable length. It was a trying ordeal for his youthful opponent, but as he had been forced into it there was no alternative for him but to fight his way out as well as he could, and he did so. The result was a handsome award in damages for the plaintiff. As may well be supposed, the plaintiff's attorney returned home quite elated, but soon was affected with no small disgust. When the plaintiff came to settle with his attorney for his services, the latter had concluded to measure their value by the amount charged the town by the Portland lawyer, and so announced. His client expressed considerable amazement at this, but finally acceded to the proposition and paid a fee of twenty-

five dollars, the same that was charged by defendant's counsel, which in that day was regarded as quite large, if not inflated.

The lawyers of Paris were Stephen Emery, Timothy J. Carter and Joseph G. Cole. The relations of the writer to the first were such as to forbid comment, except to say that his memory is held as the choicest legacy that did or could descend to his children, and his devotion to the cause of education and the elevation of society in all its varied interests is warmly cherished wherever his name is heard. Mr. Carter was a dignified and gentlemanly specimen of Oxford manhood, not largely engaged as a practitioner, but became an early victim of disease incurred about the time of the Cilley duel, intensified by the excitement of that occasion at Washington, where he died, a member of Congress. Mr. Cole was a well-educated lawyer, a graduate of Harvard, but a modest man whose preference confined him to his office and his books of general reading, and served well as a justice for the trial of local causes, and which, with his experience as clerk of the courts, well qualified him for the office of judge of the District Court, the duties of which he performed to general approbation.

Peter C. Virgin, of Rumford, had a large practise, and was a man of mark, a gentleman in demeanor, an ardent politician of the old Whig school, and a prominent leader as such. As member of the convention which framed our constitution, he was quite prominent, and the author of the provision requiring a

three months' residence, immediately preceding an election, to entitle a man to vote.

The handsomest man of the Oxford bar was William King Porter, of Turner, whose fine physique and ruddy cheeks little suggested his early death. He was highly esteemed, and his business was quite large.

Though not in order of time, before leaving Turner, may well be noticed a man of local fame but not of fortune, whom his neighbors often employed to conduct their causes under a special power of attorney. He had long officiated as a trial justice, and before him the writer often appeared in defense of soldiers sued to recover fines for neglect of military duty. He presided with great dignity, and magnified his office by pronouncing stately opinions, often accompanied by sallies of wit, which occasioned roars of laughter from the crowd which always gathered, when it was known that Seth Sampson was to hold a court. He had acquired a very good knowledge of law and of practise, and nothing delighted him more than to confront Judge Walton (before his elevation to the bench), who resided at Dixfield, further up on the Androscoggin. It is related that on one occasion, when acting as counsel in a case in opposition to Mr. Walton, the latter had become much annoyed by the manner and mode in which Mr. Sampson was conducting his side, and with some impatience interpolated the question, "Mr. Sampson, have you ever been admitted to this bar?" Whereupon instantly came the reply, "No; I never got so low as that." Mr. Sampson's wit and waggery made him popular with the court, and

were the delight of spectators, who always put in their appearance when it was known that he was to try a cause. The late Judge Virgin used to enjoy telling the following incident which came under his observation when Judge Kent presided: — "The latter, while an argument to the jury was proceeding, employed himself for the time being in reading letters received by the morning's mail. Among these was one from his second wife, enclosing a picture of their new-born baby, but which in the condition of the photographic art at that time was rather darkly shaded. The judge was very much pleased with it, and observing Mr. Sampson sitting near by, just below the bench, he whispered to him, and exhibiting the picture asked him what he thought of it. Straightening himself up in his full proportions, and adjusting his spectacles to get a good view, he replied, 'Well, judge, I should think the father of that baby must have been a darky!'" The judge, who always enjoyed a joke, was convulsed with laughter, which almost interrupted the progress of the trial. Mr. Sampson, in the latter part of his life, was a very prominent prohibitionist.

Nathaniel Howe, though once a practioner in Paris, where he became very unpopular in consequence of his alleged undue persistency in pursuing poor debtors, in the early time spoken of, resided in Waterford. He was a man of decided ability, specially exemplified as a frequent orator on "Independence Day."

William Frye of Bethel, was a sound lawyer, and had quite a judicial bearing, tempered by moderate speech and dignified demeanor.

Jairus S. Keith was the lawyer at Craigie's Mills, in Oxford, and did a fair office business but never figured largely in court.

Charles Whitman, of Waterford, a brother of Levi, had considerable of a docket, but his main distinction sprang from his effort to secure construction of the Cumberland and Oxford canal, of which he was the originator and prime mover, in the legislature. He afterward removed to Washington and died there. This completes the list of the early Oxford lawyers.

On the border line beween Cumberland and Oxford David Dunn, of Poland, and J. C. Woodman, of Minot, were always sure to cross swords in the legal arena. They hated each other most cordially, and their encounters afforded infinite amusement to spectators. Mr. Dunn was noted for his wit, for which Mr. Woodman was no match, although a man more learned in the law and indefatigable in everything he undertook.

About the time the writer left Oxford County, Timothy Ludden was the legal light of Turner, and W. B. Bennett in the adjoining town of Buckfield. Ludden was the better lawyer, but Bennett was always a thorn in his flesh, and sought every opportunity to annoy his somewhat irritable neighbor. The following is a specimen: — When, during term time, intelligence reached Paris of the nomination of Gen. Cass for the presidency, the aspiring candidates for political distinction arranged to have a ratification meeting. Mr. Ludden prepared himself for a masterly effort, and having secured the floor was so lengthy that considerable impatience began to be felt, others being apparently

crowded out. At last, as Mr. Ludden was about to cite once more from a speech of Cass from which liberal quotations had already been made, Bennett rose to a point of order, which the chairman entertained, whereupon the interrupter ejaculated, "Mr. Chairman, I move that the further reading of this bill be dispensed with." This brought down the house, and so disconcerted Mr. Ludden that he took his seat.

In early times the Cumberland bar was always represented at Paris courts, members of which argued all the cases and carried off all the prizes of litigation. Among them Gen. Samuel Fessenden was perhaps more prominent than any other, and a man to impress a youthful observer as a very big man, as he really was. He had a big body, a big brain, and a big heart. Dressed in elegant blue broadcloth, his dress suit, glittering with the brightest of buttons, set off by an elegant gold chain and seal dangling from his watch pocket, made him a very imposing figure when addressing a jury, and his very presence was adapted to win favor. He was always sure his client was in the right, and is said to have seldom turned one away without assurance that he had a good case. He was very deferential to the bench, and usually addressed the Judge, with whom he often differed, by saying, "May it please this Honorable Court." His arguments to the jury were earnest and able, but labored, and sometimes tended to tediousness. He would turn the evidence over and over and argue his case in such a manner as to strive to win an individual verdict from each member of the panel.

Opposed to Gen. Fessenden usually was Nicholas Emery of Portland, afterward judge. He was a very different styled man in appearance, and in speech, but quite impressive, and at times soared to the realm of eloquence, but he was not uniform in his efforts before the jury. When in vigor of mind and body, and engaged in a cause of more than ordinary importance, he was always equal to the occasion; but in a suit involving a small amount he seemed to gage his strength and effort by the size of the amount in controversy. Though apparently a very serious man, he had a vein of humor in his composition, and was, in fact, quite notorious as a quiz.

The writer has a distinct recollection of Simon Greenleaf, the first reporter of decisions, and a model one at that, who was also quite frequently employed to conduct trials at the Oxford bar. He was in person as if modeled after the best style of Grecian art, and in manners was the pink of refinement, but not a dude; in a word, a perfect gentleman, and well worth observation and study by candidates for legal honors. As a lawyer before court or jury he was one of the best specimens that ever came to the observation of the writer. Avoiding everything like claptrap or artificial devices, he confined himself strictly to the law and evidence in the case, and so impressed the jury by his candor and sincerity as if he did not desire their verdict unless it was indisputably his right to have it. His arguments were brief, compact, lucid and convincing. Simon Greenleaf was a model lawyer.

Before dismissing early impressions and ineffaceable recollections of the Oxford bar, special notice should be taken of Judge Whitman, long the usual presiding judge of the old Court of Common Pleas, and afterward chief justice of the Supreme Court. He was a man of stalwart physical frame, and the impersonation of justice, but of the sternest kind. He was seldom seen to smile, but inspired old men with awe, and young men with fear. On Saturday preceding Tuesday, the day for opening of the court, he was accustomed to ride to Norway and visit his kinsman, Levi, before noticed, and after spending Sunday and Monday with him, rode to Paris, and was early on the ground for the despatch of business. On a call of the docket he was accustomed to announce that he should return home on the following Saturday, and gentlemen of the bar must arrange their business accordingly. Court seldom was in session but a few days although the docket was far more crowded than now. After arranging for trials the court went in at eight in the morning and frequently continued in session until eight or nine in the evening. His iron rule was submitted to without question, although not without chafing and considerable grumbling. In the trial of cases the same masterful spirit was exhibited, and the jury was instructed to bring in verdicts in accord with his views, pro or con, to which they yielded implicit obedience. No one doubted the uprightness of Judge Whitman, and few questioned the soundness of his judgment. But practise at the bar in Oxford County under him seemed to be more like discipline of

soldiers under a martinet, than an effort to obtain justice under the administration of a wise and deliberate magistrate.

To all general rules there are exceptions. The late Gov. Washburn who enjoyed, and could tell a good story, used to relate an incident which occurred in court in Oxford County, which convulsed Judge Whitman with laughter. Without giving names and places, a woman had been called to testify in a certain trial in regard to the identity of another woman, present in court, both bearing the same name. In order to arrive at a certainty Judge Whitman interrogated the witness which Hannah Smith the witness had in her testimony referred to. Her reply was, "I meant the Hannah Smith now in divine presence!" Judge Whitman, who used to wear two pairs of spectacles, was so convulsed that the glasses on his nose became seriously demoralized.

Of the Portland lawyers who later figured largely as advocate at Oxford courts, R. A. L. Codman was very conspicuous and eminently successful. He was a man of fine presence, and courtly in his manners. His power of persuasiveness with a jury was so remarkable that on one occasion, in an important case, when deliberating in their room as to the proper verdict to be returned, one of the number, on being interrogated as to his opinion, was heard to exclaim, "I am for Codman every time." Judge Howard also had a large practise as an advocate, whose gentlemanly demeanor and gracious manners were adapted to win clients and favor before a jury. Though after-

ward appointed to the bench, and respected as a judge, his best efforts were at the bar.

In their day, however, there grew up at the Oxford bar a very general feeling, especially among the younger members, that it was about time to inaugurate a new era by an agreement or understanding, that instead of allowing Portland lawyers to enjoy the cream of the practise longer, they would argue their own cases. It should perhaps be said in part explanation of this fact, that in early times the local lawyers were accustomed to rely on senior counsel from abroad, because the rules of practise then prevalent made a sharp distinction between attorneys and counselors, and the latter only were permitted to argue causes. On emerging from an infantile state of attorney to that of counselor, it required some courage to assume the attitude of full manhood, though, as matter of fact, the pioneers of the Oxford bar were good and well-educated lawyers and abundantly able to manage their own cases to the satisfaction of courts and jurors, though clients were slow to think so, and sought special advantage by retaining senior counsel from abroad.

Court-week in early times was a great occasion, and always drew a large crowd of spectators, representing a large area of the county. One feature affording special attraction outside the court-house was the wrestling match which came off daily between the morning and afternoon sessions, in which was contested a championship quite as distinguished as marks athletic contests in this day, football perhaps

excepted. It was a time, too, when the slates were largely made up by the politicians, who in skill of maneuver were seldom excelled, but whose adroitness was less public than in this day, the prevalent opinion in the community then being that a man who sought office for himself or engaged in electioneering for it stood little chance of success. It may well be doubted if modern methods and practises and public opinion are in advance of those of our fathers on this point.

Among the features of court-week which have now gone by, may be mentioned the jollities enjoyed by the bar at Hubbard's, then and ever since, the popular headquarters for lodgings, when wine, with story and song, had free and full play, and gave zest to an occasion, which modern facilities of travel and change in habits have supplanted. At the bar while court was in session, all were then snuff-takers, the snuff-box provided at the clerk's desk being an adjunct as indispensable as the old quill pen and the accompanying sand-box, which also have had their day.

In August, 1848, the writer entered upon his duties as clerk of the Circuit Court and continued in office until September, 1876, when he resigned to become associated with the Boston Post. During this period an excellent opportunity was afforded to observe the qualities of our federal judges, and the ability and characteristics of our best Maine lawyers.

Levi Woodbury was then circuit judge, and Ashur Ware judge of the District Court. Judge Woodbury's life and labors as a statesman had fitted him

better for continuance in such line of service than for easy and preeminent service upon the bench of the highest court in the country. He always, however, well filled the position of Circuit judge, and to general approval. But for any man to succeed Judge Story, whose learning and personal qualities were of the first order, was an ordeal hardly to be envied and quite sure to suggest contrast and criticism. The contrast is quite observable in reading the written opinions of these two judges. The style of the one was finished and ornate, bristling all through with learning, while that of the other was less so, but was fortified more by a large array of authorities than an attempt at display, though always pertinent and pointing to a correct decision of the case in point. Judge Woodbury was a strict constructionist, and never lost sight of his bearings as such. Had he lived to witness the wide departure of the Supreme Court from the doctrines held and inculcated by him, it would have caused him pain and made him restive. His treatment of the bar was courteous, and in charging a jury he always spoke in vigorous language and with a forcible manner, yet with fairness and impartiality.

Judge Ware, who sat with him when here, and presided alone in his absence, was a very different molded man in all particulars. In admiralty and maritime law he was eminent as a pioneer, and was quoted all over the country as of highest authority. In equity he followed largely the court of Judge Story, whom he held in high estimation and with whom he was long associated; but the common law he held in

less esteem and its practise he never fancied. In manner he was simple as a child, treating the members of the bar much as his equals, and often in the interim of a trial descending from the bench and mingling with them. The duties of his position as District judge were not pressing, but gave him abundance of time to indulge his literary taste and to revel in the ancient classics and explore the labyrinths of scientific and philosophical learning, in all which few outside a very limited circle did or could appreciate. He was esteemed by the writer as a very learned man, and for many years he was accustomed to visit the clerk's office almost daily between the hours of twelve and one, on which occasion he bubbled over with observations and criticisms suggested by his constant reading and wise reflections, and to his conversation it was a choice pleasure to listen. His temperament was equable, his mind of a judicial cast and impartiality, and his style of writing (except chirography) was lucid, finished and classical. In looking backward, it seems a pity that a man so eminent and so worthy should have passed from the stage without leaving behind him some enduring memorials of his wide and extensive research. But for the great fire of 1866, which destroyed all his manuscripts, it is quite probable he would have perpetuated his name by authorship, a name alas too seldom mentioned and too soon forgotten.

On the death of Judge Woodbury, Benjamin R. Curtis was appointed to succeed him. He was a model judge in every particular. There was no

department of law with which he was not familiar, and no question ever came before him with which he was not instantly able to grapple, and no consequence to be anticipated or exigency to be met, for which he was not fully equipped. His mode of conducting trials before him was quite unique, and the wonder is it has never apparently been imitated in our state or federal courts. In actions based on contract, or on a patented invention, before hearing the evidence by the jury, he was accustomed to call on the counsel to present their views to him as to the true and legal construction of the instrument declared on, after which he announced his own opinion and informed counsel what would be his instruction to the jury relating thereto. In this way he sharpened down the vital issue to a narrow point, prepared the way for excluding much evidence apparently applicable to it but not in the line of his ruling, and thereby he saved much time, kept the attention of the jury confined to the vital points in controversy, and everything like fishing for luck on the part of counsel was held at bay. Consequently there was seldom disagreement of the jury, and the verdict was found in accordance with the law and evidence of the case.

His charges to the jury were a pastime to a listener, and a valuable lesson for the student. Every sentence throughout was framed as if prepared with pen in hand, which never was the fact; every word employed as if chosen with careful deliberation; a redundant expression was never used, and the performance resembled more a reading from a book than

the ordinary charge of a presiding judge. In most cases for the court he was ready at once to announce his conclusion without taking time for advisement, but wrote out his opinions subsequently for the reporter. He treated all members of the bar with equal respect, and they could not but cherish for him a respect due to one who was the beau ideal of a judge.

By a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, Nathan Clifford became the successor of Judge Curtis. Mr. Buchanan, on whom the appointment devolved, was President. Mr. Clifford was known to, and had been associated with, him in cabinet counsels. Clifford and Appleton were practising law in Portland. Mr. Buchanan had an exalted opinion of Mr. Appleton, and then and subsequently very close relations existed between them. Mr. Moses Macdonald also stood high in Maine as one of the President's special friends, and through the influence mainly of these two gentlemen, Mr. Clifford secured the coveted prize. But he came very nigh losing it by reason of the opposition of senators to his confirmation. It required but one vote more to defeat him, and that was saved through the kindly office of Senator Fessenden, to whom appeal was made to know if the nominee possessed the requisite qualifications for the exalted position, and who gave satisfactory assurances on that point.

But after receiving his appointment he entered upon his duties under great disadvantages. Though Mr. Clifford had enjoyed a large practise in the state

courts, and was familiar with criminal law in Maine, but was wholly inexperienced as a practitioner in the district and circuit courts and without knowledge of practise therein, which is quite different from our local modes of procedure. The criminal code of the United States was entirely new to him. The law appertaining to patents, which constitutes a very large share of cases in the first circuit, he had never studied, and is a science of itself and a difficult one at that for a novice. Besides these difficulties in his path, Judge Clifford was looked down upon in Massachusetts as an unworthy successor of Judge Curtis, and his appointment was attributed to partisanship rather than fitness for the position. The prestige of success was therefore all against Judge Clifford, and no one knew it better than he. But this condition, so far from discouraging him, moved him to noble endeavor, and wrought a determination in his own mind that if time should be given him he would demonstrate to the bar of Boston and to the public, that the President had made no mistake. He at once addressed himself night and day to informing himself on matters of practise, and to preparing himself at all points for the discharge of his varied duties. He lived to conquer prejudice, and died respected as an able and useful judge. But to achieve success imposed upon him an amount of labor of which the outside world little knew, and which, but for a wonderful power of endurance and an inextinguishable ambition, would have closed his career long before it was reached.

As a presiding judge he was patient and impartial, and his urbanity on the bench was pleasing to, and noticeable by, everybody. His opinions were prepared with unusual care and study, and his conclusions in general commended themselves to the bar, though often reached after a somewhat tedious reading, and seemed sometimes unnecessarily protracted. Judge Clifford was not apt to take anything for granted, and each opinion written he seemed to think should exhaust all the learning and authorities on the subject, and should be a guide and landmark for all time.

When the law providing for the appointment of additional justices for the Circuit Court went into effect, George F. Shepley, the versatile lawyer and brilliant advocate, was appointed for the first circuit, of whose qualifications there were none to doubt at home or abroad. He had not only had a very extensive practise in the state courts, but had been district attorney, and had also been frequently retained as counsel in patent cases. He was, therefore, well equipped for immediate service and acquitted himself with honor and distinction. As judge he was specially useful in administering the law appertaining to patents, and in every branch of federal jurisdiction he was sufficiently versed to require little application to books and study. Indeed, he was self reliant both at the bar and on the bench, and had a natural genius for the law which came to him by inheritance from his father, long the eminent chief justice of the Maine Supreme Judicial Court. In his conduct of jury

trials, however, he differed somewhat from his father, being more showy, and was more diffuse in his charges to the jury, and so much so that sometimes there was danger that the jury would lose sight of the vital legal points involved. While able and popular as a judge, it is questionable whether he was in reality elevated by his appointment, for the bar was an arena for the highest display of his powers, and for which he was preeminently fitted.

On the bench of the District Court Judge Ware was succeeded by Edward Fox, who quite often conducted the business of the Circuit Court in the absence of Justice Clifford, whose time was largely required in Boston and at Washington. Judge Fox won marked distinction in his administration of the late bankrupt law, and in the course of it he prepared many important opinions. He was urged to publish the latter, but declined because he said the world was already too full of law books, and the bankrupt law itself was an ephemeral affair.

He excelled in the admiralty and common law departments, but to suits relating to patent rights he gave a wide berth, and declined to sit as judge therein. In conducting causes tried before a jury, he was very clear and effective in his charges, but not altogether impartial. He had so long been accustomed to advocate one side of a case for his client that it seemed somewhat difficult for him as judge to exhibit and maintain the equipoise needful for impartial administration. The jury could almost always tell how he thought the case should be decided, especially

if tainted with fraud, which he was very apt to discover if there was slight ground for suspicion. Judge Fox was a very outspoken man, and at times a little brusque and arbitrary in his manner. But he looked carefully after the public interests, observing the same principles and methods which characterized him in caring for his own.

Of the lawyers who forty years ago practised in the Circuit Court all have passed away except John Rand of Portland. Among them were Gen. Samuel Fessenden and Judge Preble already noticed. Thomas A. Deblois, partner of Gen. Fessenden, a Boston-born boy, and the courtly gentleman was a conspicuous figure, and preferred practise in the federal rather than in the state courts. It used to be said he leaned too much on his partner to attain highest distinction, but there was no occasion for it, for he was a sound lawyer and an able advocate. His manner was not quite so well adapted to a jury of countrymen as that of Gen. Fessenden. A story is told of him in dealing with countrymen somewhat like this. He on one occasion was prevailed on to make a political speech before a country audience, a thing he not often condescended to do. During its delivery he read from a printed tract or document which he commended very highly, and expressed to the chairman of the meeting the hope that a large edition of the same would be published and "distributed among the common people!" Had he been called to account for his apparent forgetfulness that it was votes that he was catering for, it is quite doubtful whether he would greatly

have modified his language, for the tricks of demagogues and the arts of the practised politician he heartily despised. He appeared at his best when officiating as United States attorney and practising before Judge Curtis; though fishing for trout with an artistic rod and always with a fly was in his own estimation the *summum bonum* of his accomplishments. William Pitt Fessenden was then in his prime, and to him it was always a pleasure to listen. His clear-cut statements of law or fact were direct, pertinent and artistic. His arguments were always strong, logical and forcible, but free from adornment or attempts at oratory. His aim was to win, and he was very likely to do so. After Mr. Evans' removal to Portland he was an eminent practitioner in the Circuit Court, and a prominent figure wherever he appeared. When in the prime of health, as when for generations he always graced commencement at Bowdoin College, his big head, his lustrous eye, and his manly mien and physique always attracted attention, and on no occasion when he opened his mouth did he fail to chain the attention of the listener. In discussing questions of law his arguments were masterly, Websterian, and his power of analysis in showing up the fallacies of his opponent were as marvelous as the skill of a prince in the art of surgery in dissecting the brain. The most important jury case now remembered, which called for the exercise of his highest ability and most earnest endeavors, was the Holmes murder case. Mr. Shepley as district attorney conducted the prosecution. It was an interesting exhibition of the trial of strength

between these two contestants before the jury, independent of the interest of a case involving the life of a sea captain. The evidence of guilt was too strong to be overcome by zeal or argument, but all that human effort could do was done, to secure a verdict of acquittal. It was a case of awful cruelty on shipboard, the recountal of the evidence of which almost created a shiver throughout the crowded court-room, graced by the attendance of many ladies. One item of the testimony will never be forgotten by those who heard it. The victim of cruelty, triced up, was flayed to death, not by the defendant in person, but through the agency of a fellow sailor who was detailed to inflict the blows. The terrible duty to which he was summoned caused him at first to hesitate in the cruel work. The victim saw how reluctant he was to obey the order, and in the spirit of a martyr cried out to his fellow, "Pay on, pay on, for if you don't, you will be subjected to the same fate." Heroes on the field of battle are glorified and sanctified. But who sings and celebrates heroic action often displayed in the humble walks of life?

Before Henry W Paine removed to Boston he occasionally tried a cause in the Circuit Court and always with great ability. Judge Curtis is said to have regarded him as in the foremost rank of New England lawyers. His wit, displayed when occasion called for it, was always at command, but never overshadowed his learning and effectiveness, as is sometimes noticeable in men remarkable for wit and humor, Sunset Cox, for instance. Mr. Paine never

lost his attachment for Maine, and when called on by a friend and acquaintance from our state, was very apt to indulge in eulogiums of our bench, bar and people. Apparently he felt at Boston as if factitious circumstances and artificial conditions had more to do with promotion in Massachusetts than in Maine. The following anecdote told of him will serve to illustrate this statement. A certain lawyer of his acquaintance, who had been nominated for judge, but whose nomination was laid over for consideration by a council politically opposed to the governor, inquired of Mr. Paine his opinion whether or not the nomination would be confirmed. Hesitating a moment, the reply was "I think it will be, for you possess the three qualifications required for the office." "And what are they?" The response was "First, you are a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, secondly, you are a graduate of Harvard College, and, thirdly, you own a lot in Mount Auburn."

Francis O. J. Smith occasionally practised in the Circuit Court, but usually as an advocate in cases in which he had a personal interest. He was a man of marked ability, but from his love of politics in early life, and in the promotion of big schemes with which he was identified, he was faulty in looking after details, so essential to highest success. This was the more noticeable from the fact that he always preserved his letters for any future contingency. He appeared to best advantage before a popular audience, always being sure of a large attendance, and seldom failed of captivating applause. In some respects he

resembled Gen. B. F. Butler, who was quite apt to appeal to the weaker side of human nature, rather than to lofty sentiment and the highest reason.

The Penobscot bar was usually represented in the Circuit Court in the persons of Mr. Hobbs and Mr. J. S. Rowe, in general on opposite sides of important cases. Their practise, however, in this court was upon its equity side, which under Judge Story had received special favor, and who did much to commend the law and practise of equity throughout New England, the impetus of which has come to be felt in the courts of our own state, and is perhaps destined to more largely pervade our legal atmosphere. Mr. Hobbs had long been a practitioner, commencing his career in Washington County. Mr. Rowe, a very gentlemanly man, took to equity quite naturally, and excelled in that line.

After Mr. Bion Bradbury removed from Eastport to Portland, he had considerable practise in the federal courts. His genial nature and popular manners were adapted to attract clients and to win favor with court and jury. But unfortunately for him, as in the case of many others, the more attractive field of politics was a hindrance rather than help to professional advancement, a lesson which young men would do well to learn and heed.

Of the living, mention is omitted. They have no occasion to blush or shrink from comparison with those who, as judges or lawyers, have vacated seats in our earthly tribunals, and entered upon a higher plane of life. In law, as in every other department, the

work of evolution has silently but surely been working changes for the better, a brief notice of some of which seems pertinent with which to close this paper.

1. The abrogation of the old system of special pleading under which a large portion of litigated cases were disposed of by technicalities rather than upon their merits, though adapted to make lawyers very acute, has been in the interest of justice, and worked out a substantial reform. But there is room and demand for vast improvement in the line of an effort to reach the ends of substantial justice irrespective of modes of procedure. In a recent paper read before the American Bar Association by the editor of the American Lawyer, it was shown from statistics gathered from every state in the Union, that nearly one-half of the questions carried to and decided by the courts of appellate jurisdiction in this country, were questions arising out of disputes as to the proper method of bringing before the courts the merits involved in the original differences. Substantially one-half of the points of law in issue "were points in no way decisive of the substantive rights of the parties in litigation," and yet we boast of law as a science. Well did the writer quoted add: "This state of affairs is a reproach to the practise of the law." What a spectacle for men and gods would that be, to see two surgeons quarreling over the mode of procedure by the bedside of the wounded patient, who writhes in anguish, and gives up the ghost while they are engaged in their wrangle.

2. The rigorous common-law has been largely modified by codification and by the spirit of equity, independent of the enlargement of equity jurisdiction conferred upon our Supreme Court, whereby substantial justice between parties litigant has become the dominant aim of all our courts. The permission of parties to testify has greatly tended in that direction and is an important advance from the olden time.

3. In the administration of justice greater deliberation is observable in the trial of causes, whereby suitors are allowed ample time, so that the defeated party can go home with the conviction that he has had at least the full benefit of an opportunity to maintain his rights. It is important for the community not only to enjoy the benefit of good laws and a wise administration thereof, but for every man to feel that it is so.

4. In the conduct of cases the spirit of courtesy is more observable at the bar than formerly; not only between contesting counsel, but in the treatment of witnesses. What sometimes resembled a bear garden more than a court-room has in these later days entirely disappeared.

5. There is less oppression and legalized robbery of poor debtors now than formerly. The modern method of collections and settlements between tradesmen and their customers has almost supplanted the old custom of suing debtors, and largely removed the opportunity if not inducement to add to the burden of poor men the payment of costs as a penalty for their poverty or want of credit.

On the whole, in looking backward, while there was much in our courts, the bench and the bar to secure veneration and esteem, the conclusion seems a fair one, that wisdom did not die with our fathers, and, in view of needful changes still demanded, will not with the exit of the present generation.

FALMOUTH NECK IN THE REVOLUTION.

"ONE OF THOSE OLD TOWNS — WITH A HISTORY."

BY NATHAN GOOLD.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, October 29, 1896.

[CONCLUDED.]

Col. Phinney's regiment left for Cambridge in July, leaving the town guarded by Capt. Joseph Noyes' and Capt. Samuel Knights' companies, that served until December. Enoch Freeman, Benjamin Muzzy, John Brackett and William Owen were selectmen in 1775, and they were ordered "to deliver to every person a quarter of a pound of powder, who was destitute of it, but who had a gun and was willing to defend the country."

The next important event was the burning of the town by Capt. Mowat, October 18, 1775. Four days before, he visited Damariscove Islands, seized seventy-eight sheep and three fat hogs, not offering to pay for them, and because the owner objected Mowat burned the house in which he lived. The house was owned by Daniel Knight, but was occupied by John Wheeler,

BURNING OF FALMOUTH, OCT. 18, 1775.

From a print in "Impartial History of the War," published in Boston, 1781.

[*By courtesy of Portland Press.*]

who owned the sheep and hogs. The sheep were valued at £39, the hogs at £8, and the house at £66, 13s, 4d, making a total loss of £113, 13s, 4d. That was the character of Mowat, and when our forefathers denounced him they knew who they were talking about. If Mowat had been proud of the burning of Falmouth Neck, he would have mentioned it in stating his meritorious services in America. He arrived here the sixteenth; the next day warped his vessels up opposite the town; that night he sent his letter ashore and the inhabitants delivered eight small arms to get time. The next morning, the eighteenth, the people met at the court-house and "resolved by no means to deliver up the four cannon and the small arms." Our forefathers, almost unarmed, in the face of four war vessels with guns shotted and already run out, made this resolve. Portland in the Past says, "No more fearless and patriotic action by a deliberate body of people in such an exposed and helpless condition was taken during the struggle of the colonies."

The horrors of the burning of the town have been vividly described by the historians, but some figures may make us realize the extent of the destruction. The fleet fired upwards of three thousand shot and a large number of carcasses and bombs. They destroyed one hundred and thirty-six houses and two hundred and seventy-eight other buildings, making a total of four hundred and fourteen buildings burned. They turned out of doors one hundred and sixty families, and there were but about one hundred dwelling-houses

left. The selectmen said, "All the compact part of the Town is gone;" and of the remaining buildings they said, "They are mostly the refuse of the Town." Every vessel of considerable size was burned except two which the enemy carried away. The total loss was about £55,000.

The first house burned was on Middle Street, near where King & Dexter's store now stands (No. 269), and was occupied by Josiah Shaw as a dwelling and saddler's shop. No person of the town was killed and but one, Reuben Clough, seriously injured. Many of the families were obliged to move into the country, and those that remained were obliged to seek shelter wherever it could be found, in barns and woodhouses, where they simply existed.

The Committee now realizing their defenseless condition wrote to Gen. Washington at Cambridge, the twenty-first, asking for a garrison, and received the following reply: —

Camp at Cambridge, October 24, 1775.

Gentlemen: — The desolation and misery which ministerial vengeance has planned, in contempt of every principle of humanity, and which has been so lately brought on the Town of Falmouth, I know not how sufficiently to detest. Nor can my compassion for the general suffering be conceived beyond the true measure of my feelings. But my readiness to relieve you by complying with your request, signified in your favor of the 21st instant, is circumscribed by my inablility. The immediate necessities of the Army under my command require all the powder and ball that can be collected, with the utmost industry and trouble: the authority of my station does not extend so far as to empower me to send a detachment of men down to your assistance. Thus circumstanced, I can only add my wishes

and exhortations that you may repel every future attempt to perpetuate the like savage cruelties.

I have given liberty to several officers of Colonel Phinney's Regiment to visit their connections, which may now stand in need of their presence and assistance, by reason of this new exertion of despotick barbarity.

I am, Gentlemen, your obedient humble servant.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

To the Committee of Falmouth, Casco Bay.

The following letter written by Col. Reuben Fogg of Scarborough, to Gen. Washington, two days after the burning of the town, has never been published.

SIR:

I would inform your Excellency that on Tuesday the 17th instant about five oclock afternoon there was drawed up before the Town of Falmouth two ships, one sloop and an armed schooner of war and the 18th about nine oclock in the morning fired on the town and in a short time the town was set on fire by the ships and by twelve or one oclock near three quarters of the town was in flames. Some of the men from the ships landed and the militia being raised for the defence of the town drove them back to the ships and one John Armstrong fled to Lieut. Josiah Libby who commanded a party of men and surrendered himself to them and says he chooses to fight for America. I now send him to headquarters to be examined by your Excelency and say what service he shall be put to. I send him by Mr. Charles Morris and Jonathan Libby, two of the men he fled to.

Scarborough October 20, 1775.

To His Excelency George Washington Esq.

Commander in Chief of the American Troops.

From your most obedient humble servant

REUBEN FOGG.

P. S. I hope your Excelency will be more fully informed of the unhappy affair than I am capable of at present.

(Mass. Archives, Vol. 164, Page 153.)

This John Armstrong was sent to Washington. He turned him over to the Provincial Congress, which gave him liberty to depart.

Soloman Bragdon and Major Libby were on guard at the First Parish meeting-house during the bombardment. They caught a man setting fire to the church and took him to Cambridge.

An address distributed in the army at Cambridge, dated November 21, 1775, said : —

> The savage and brutal barbarity of our enemies in burning Falmouth, is a full demonstration that there is not the least remains of virtue, wisdom, or humanity in the British court.

Mercy Warren wrote : —

> The wanton desolation which on the eve of winter stripped the inhabitants of Falmouth both of shelter and provisions and drove them naked into the wilderness, uncertain of any accommodations to secure them from the inclemency of the season. One Capt. Mowat, who had recently been a prisoner there and had received the most hospitable treatment from the inhabitants, was the instrument to execute this deed of unprovoked barbarity.

Gen. Jedediah Preble, chairman of the Committee of Safety, wrote January 5, 1776, to Samuel Freeman at Watertown : —

> We are very sorry so many members of the honorable Court (as you intimate) should be prejudiced against this town for not throwing up a bulwark the night preceding the conflagration when that night was the only time we had allowed by that villain (Mowat) to secure our wives, children, and effects ; besides if cannon had been mounted we had not powder enough to have served them properly half an hour. If the town was to be blamed, it is for not being supplied with a stock of powder.

November first, the British man-of-war Cerebus arrived in the harbor with four hundred men on board

She was a thirty-six gun frigate, commanded by Capt. John Symons, and was the vessel that brought generals Burgoyne, Clinton and Howe to America, arriving at Boston, May 25, 1775. It was on her deck that Burgoyne made his famous remark: "What! ten thousand peasants keep five thousand king's troops shut up! Well let *us* get in, and we'll soon find elbow room."

The Cerebus took part in the Battle of Bunker Hill, being then commanded by Capt. Chad, and she carried the official account of that battle to England, arriving at Portsmouth, England, July twenty-fifth. The news had been received July nineteenth, by another vessel, and the London papers, for weeks, were filled with the melancholy details of the battle taken from the letters of the survivors. July thirty-first, a ship cleared at the London custom-house, for Boston, with two thousand coffins. The Cerebus brought back the letters of recall to Gen. Gage, arriving September sixth.

The following letter from Dr. Deane, written three days after the arrival of the vessel, explains her visit and also confirms the fact that the mercantile part of the community were not at first in favor of the war. The early patriots of the Neck were the artisans and yeomanry, who afterwards became our leading citizens, and property owners. The letter also shows the extent the people of the town suffered from the cowardly burning by Mowat. The patriotic efforts of that people command our admiration, for the next spring every able-bodied man was in the service and their zeal until the close of the war is worthy of all praise.

In honoring them we honor ourselves. This letter probably has never before been made public, but remained in the archives of Massachusetts until Dr. Charles E. Banks found it and sent it to me a few months ago. It is addressed to Hon Benjamin Greenleaf of Newburyport, Massachusetts, who was a member of the General Court.

Falmouth 4th Nov. 1775.

Sir: Our affairs in this town have got into such confusion that I am tempted to go out of my line, and I know not what member of the General Court I can apply to better than yourself. Such is our present dismal situation that unless something is done for us more than we can do for ourselves, we are absolutely undone, and shall too probably, if the war continues six months longer, involve the whole province of Maine in our ruin.

What we call the Neck is thought by the best judges easy to fortify against the land and not very difficult against the sea. Our harbor is one of the best in the province: perhaps the best of all: it is capacious, accessible and never is froze up. About two-thirds of the buildings, in general the best, have been laid in ashes by Mowat. He could not have done it if the 60 men, in the province pay stationed here had been properly commanded. The company is by your honorable Court put under the direction of a committee. The committee were so employed in getting out their families and effects that they did not assemble to give orders. Individuals of the Committee gave contrary directions to the captain, so that all the opposition made to the landing of men with torches during the cannonade, was by volunteers without any leader or direction. Last Wednesday the Cerebus arrived in our harbor, a hellish name, with an infernal commander yclep'd John Symons. We sent aboard to know whether he came peaceably. He returned a letter to the Town declaring that if the Town and Country adjacent should raise any armed men, abuse the King's officers, or other peaceably disposed subjects, erect military works, &c, it would be his indispensable duty to proceed with the most vigorous efforts against the Town.

The militia is called in, and they with part of the soldiery are going to throw up some breastworks this night, so that we expect a cannonade at least to-morrow morning. We have cannon that would be able to annoy the ship, if we had ammunition, but we have not half enough for our small arms. Symons has asked for a few cattle and offered to pay for them and has been refused. After this detail of particulars, which I know to be true, I leave it to yourself to say whether it is not probable that our enemies will not be disposed to take possession of our Neck and fortify it: whether they will not make it a place of rendezvous for some of their ships this winter: whether instead of a committee it is not the indispensable duty of the General Court to send us some able and experienced officer to be at the head of our companies that are in pay: whether we ought not to be ordered at least by some skillful engineer who can shew us what to do and what we ought not to do: whether it is not necessary to have more men raised here. I think the present number, scattered along the shore of the County, mostly in places where they are not at all wanted, is 200.

The Town has petitioned Gen. Washington for troops. He has answered that he has no authority to send any. If some were sent, bread must be sent with them, for it is an article that this County could not supply them with. I conjure you Sir, by your zeal for the public welfare to take our forlorn state into your serious consideration and be a strenuous advocate for us at the Honorable Board and with the members of the House as you have opportunity. If any of my hints are good, I am confident you will improve them: if you think anything better, I shall be glad to have them drop into oblivion, but if you or some other of the General Court shall not cause something to be done for us I think it probable that in half a year the inhabitants of the County will be either prisoners or else be driven so far back into the woods that they cannot subsist.

Another affair I would also intreat you to take into consideration. I mean the lamentable state of the poor of Falmouth who have lost their habitations, many of their movables, their whole employment and are now living upon the charity of those whom they will soon reduce to a level with themselves, and all, as far as I can divine, must before spring starve together. We have had a messenger at

your Court and some of the members give him encouragement; others fling toryism at us and seem disposed that we should suffer till we are brought to reason, but Sir is starving the way to convert Tories? If so, the mercantile part of them will be converted first as they are in general the greatest sufferers. But I fancy they will be the hardest to convert of any. Suppose this town has not been so forward as they ought in the common cause: ought the province therefore to withhold Christian charity? "If thine enemy hunger thou shall feed him." But the poor have not been wanting in the cause of liberty: and is it right that they should suffer for the sins of their superiors? I believe Charlestown has been as faulty as Falmouth, and I have heard the province has relieved its poor. I hope the province is not weary of extending charity to their destroyed towns. I think there will not be many more seaport towns destroyed unless our enemies should increase amazingly.

It is impossible for me at present to tell the number of families that must have charity extended to them to keep them alive till spring, or rather till they can raise something out of the ground next summer. I should guess they are the bigger part of a hundred families. Some of the ablest towns in this and York Counties might take them and feed them for the present, if the Court shall so order. If our destruction had happened in the spring, the distress of the poor would not have been comparatively anything.

Relying much upon your wisdom and humanity I am dear sir your most obedient servant.

Samuel Deane.

The Hon^{bl} Benj. Greenleaf Esq.

P. S. Nov. 5. The ship is gone, we suppose to bring assistance, either to take possession of the Neck or to destroy the remainder of the Town.

In Council Nov. 9th, 1775 Read and sent down.

Perez Morton Dy Secy.

Ref. Mass. Archives Vol. 180, Page 229.

When the committee of the town went on board the Cerebus to inform Capt. Symons that he could have no sheep or cattle, even if he would pay for

them, he kept the committee. Then the patriots seized George Lyde, the collector, and Joseph Domette, both well-known Tories, and confined them as hostages, whereupon they wrote to Capt. Symons stating their situation as prisoners, and he then released the committee. The captain did not enforce his threats, but the vessel sailed away. Evidently he was glad to avoid any conflict with men who had the spirit of defiance as exhibited by the patriots here then assembled to defend the remains of the town.

Gen. Washington, on receipt of a letter from Enoch Moody, chairman of the committee, dated November 1, no doubt sent Col. Edmund Phinney to take command of the military operations on Falmouth Neck until the arrival of Col. Joseph Frye, November 25, who had been assigned to duty here.

In the early part of the year 1776, there was great activity in the town in raising soldiers and sending them to the army to assist at the siege of Boston. That year Falmouth Neck was garrisoned by a battalion of four companies, under Captains Benjamin Hooper, Tobias Lord, William Crocker and William Lithgow, jr. Another company, Capt. Briant Morton's, was stationed at Cape Elizabeth, building Fort Hancock, on the present site of Fort Preble. Col. Frye was promoted to be a brigadier general January 10, 1776, and he joined the Continental army soon after. Then Maj. Daniel Ilsley was the commanding officer here until the appointment of Jonathan Mitchell, March 29, as colonel, with Maj. Ilsley second in command, and James Sullivan as commissary. Gen. Frye resigned

his commission in the army, April 23, 1776. In June, the General Court made provisions for a company of matrosses to be stationed in the forts here, and Capt. Abner Lowell raised a company of fifty men, which was increased to eighty the next year, and they may have remained in the service until the fall of 1779, but the size of the company must have been reduced.

There was considerable dissatisfaction with Col. Mitchell among the officers, and matters were finally referred to the council for settlement, with the result that Col. Mitchell received the following order: —

Council Chamber at Watertown, Sept. 20, 1776.

To Colonel Jonathan Mitchell:

You being appointed by the General Assembly of this State to the command of the five companies of sea coast men stationed in and about Falmouth, are hereby directed to keep them in good order and discipline and continue to carry on the works there in such a manner as will be most for the security of the town and let regimental musters for the present cease.

The selectmen in 1776 were Stephen Waite, Joseph Noyes, John Johnson and Humphrey Merrill.

This year, most of the work was done on the fortifications here, and Major Ilsley in a letter said, "The soldiers have done a great deal of work fortifying, and with a cheerfulness which is not common amongst soldiers." The battalion was discharged the last of November.

The news of the declaration of our independence was brought here by Joseph Titcomb, then nineteen years of age. Willis says that he was mate of the letter of marque Fox, became the commander of a

privateer and introduced, about 1790, the fashion of wearing pantaloons in Portland, he having adopted them while abroad. He was a selectman of the town ten years.

July 30, the militia was mustered here and men were drafted to reenforce the Northern army, then at Fort Ticonderoga and vicinity. These soldiers probably joined Capt. John Wentworth's company, in Col. Aaron Willard's regiment, and served in that army from August to December, five months.

Parson Smith says, December 4, "Every fourth man is drafted for the army everywhere." This was to fill up the new three years' regiments that were going into service January 1, 1777. In the early part of the year 1777, these men were being organized into companies and sent off to join their regiments in the service. Maj. Daniel Ilsley, the muster master, recorded the mustering and paying of bounties to four hundred and twenty-one men here before July, 1780. In March, Jedediah Preble wrote from Cambridge, "The province of Maine and town of Falmouth in particular are highly applauded by the General Court for being foremost of any part of the state (Massachusetts) in furnishing their quotas for the army." In April, 1778, the government mentioned the conduct of Falmouth "as highly commendable, manly and patriotic in their glorious exertions to raise volunteers to reenforce the Continental army."

The harbor was a favorite resort of privateers and many of their prizes were brought here. The Retrieve, Capt. Joshua Stone, sailed from here in

1776. She was equipped with ten carriage and sixteen swivel guns and carried eighty men, as reported to the government; but a soldier wrote in his journal, September 22, 1776, that she sailed "about five o'clock; she has 11 carriage guns, 6 swivel and 2 cohorns," and he adds, "May she meet with success." October 2, he says: "Capt. Stone sent in a prize sloop of Tories last night." The Retrieve was captured about October 1, 1777, by the British frigate Glasgow. The Fox was built here in 1777, and went on her first cruise November 1. Her letters of marque, it is said, were issued to John Fox, Benjamin Titcomb and Nathaniel Deering, but probably others were interested in her. She was pierced for twenty guns, but they sailed with but four and no swords, and fitted scythes into suitable handles for boarding pikes. When out about eight days she captured a ship of eighteen guns, with a valuable cargo, and carried her into Boston. This rich prize furnished all the arms and equipments necessary, and was profitable to the owners; but this was her most successful cruise. There were other privateers fitted out here of which little is known.

The news of the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne was received here October 26; there was great rejoicing and a general illumination of the few houses left. If a house was not properly lighted a window was broken and a string of candles thrown in with the orders to light up. Around Alice Greele's tavern was the center of demonstration. Here Benjamin Tukey was mortally wounded by the premature discharge of

a cannon. Bottles of wine and buckets of punch were passed out of her windows to the crowd outside, who were very noisy. Several of the inhabitants subscribed "to purchase a good beef ox to distribute to the families of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers belonging in Falmouth, who were engaged in the capture of Gen. Burgoyne and his army." Col. John Waite was the chairman of the committee to make the purchase and attend to the duty.

In the winter of 1777–78, the people of Old Falmouth felt the anguish of her sons, who half-clothed and half-starved, were recording their devotion to liberty with the blood from their feet on the white snow at Valley Forge. The sufferings of those patriots we cannot describe, but their names will go down through generations to come, among the noblest heroes of our country.

In February, Col. Waite issued the following advertisement: —

Whereas a subscription is opened for the soldiers who enlisted from this town into the Continental army and are now in camp destitute of shoes, stockings and shirts, I make no doubt but every person who does not (like the Israelites of old) wish to return to bondage again, will contribute either shoes, stockings, shirts or cash to be sent by Lieut. (Daniel) Lunt for the immediate relief of said soldiers. Any of the above articles will be received by the subscribers' humble servant.

John Waite.

April 13, 1778, the French Frigate La Sensible, arrived in the harbor, bringing the despatches to our government, with the news that France had formally

and openly acknowledged American independence. The forts and the armed vessels then in the harbor saluted the frigate and she saluted them in return. The frigate remained here five days.

The year 1778 was a year when patriotism was at its lowest ebb. Reenforcements were ordered for Washington's army in March, and Old Falmouth raised Capt. Jesse Partridge's company of fifty men by voluntary enlistment. They joined the army on the Hudson River, were assigned to Col. John Greaton's Third Massachusetts regiment, and served until November 1. The General Court, June 23, voted "that the town of Falmouth, having raised fifty men by volunteer enlistment, are exempt from furnishing men as per resolve April 2, 1778." This year the small-pox broke out here and a pesthouse was built, but the disorder was of a mild character. Parson Smith says June 20, "Our people are mad about inoculation." Under date of January 3, 1779, Parson Smith records, "Our company of soldiers is reduced to ten." These were the garrison soldiers in the fortifications.

In July, Col. Jonathan Mitchell's Cumberland County regiment was raised and embarked for the Bagaduce expedition and after that disaster they returned, but were so destitute of arms and equipments that the Falmouth committee soon discharged over four companies as unfit for service, and but three of those remained here and at Cape Elizabeth. Col. Henry Jackson's regiment was ordered here from Kittery, arriving August 29, and marched to Boston,

September 7. This was a crack Boston regiment, fully uniformed and equipped, and had participated in the battles of Monmouth and Quaker Hill. They camped above the Eastern Cemetery. After these regiments were relieved the town was garrisoned by about four hundred militia for about a month. The committee stated, September 13, "that the militia in this county are at present in a situation incapable of defending us in case of an attack, principally owing to their ignorance and neglect of the principal officers of the brigade."

August 18, Enoch Freeman, in behalf of the Committee, wrote the following letter to the Council in regard to the situation here in that critical time, which shows that Jackson's regiment was sent here at the Committee's request.

Falmouth, Aug. 18th, 1779.

Sir: — The invasion of the Penobscot under a very considerable force of the enemy, their progress there and the ravages committed by them in other places at the Eastern part of the state make us apprehensive that they have a design to cut it off from the other part of the state and either annex it to the Province of Nova Scotia or form it into a separate government under the British Administration.

Under such apprehensions, a number of gentlemen from most of the towns in this County this day assembled in Convention in this town to consult what is proper to be done for our safety and defence.

We think that the Harbor here would be of such importance to the enemy, in the execution of what we judge to be their grand design, that they will not much longer neglect to attempt to possess themselves of it and make it a place of Rendezvous for their troops and ships of force, — And we are sorry to inform your Honors that such is the state of our fortification and such the weakness of our

Force, that unless some measures are immediately entered into for our protection and defence, we fear we shall fall a prey to their rage and malice. We therefore humbly pray that your Honors would take our case into your serious consideration and order that such steps may be taken as will put us in a good posture of defense.

We have recommended to the several towns in this County to raise immediately their respective proportion of one hundred men to repair the forts here and build others in such places as a Committee, (whom we have appointed for the purpose) shall best judge, and we trust the General Court will make provisions for paying them for their services.

And we would request that the Honorable Council would appoint, and send as soon as possible, some experienced, faithful engineer to take the oversight of the work.

We would further pray that at least two hundred men might be ordered here from the County of York, or some other County to the southward of us, to increase our strength, which is already much reduced.

We also think it necessary that a number of cannon and suitable quantity of military stores should be procured and sent here to be placed in such Forts as may be erected, and also fieldpieces, (two we think necessary).

And as provisions are extremely scarce here, and it would be almost impossible to collect on an emergency, as much as might be wanted, we think it absolutely necessary that a Magazine thereof should be provided and placed in a proper part of the town, to be used when an alarm should require it.

I am, in the name and behalf of the Committee, Your Honors' most obedient and very humble serv't,

Enoch Freeman,

We have this minute received advice (by the bearer who hands you this and who will communicate to you personally) of the unhappy loss of our fleet at Penobscot.

In Council Sept. 11th, 1779.

Read and sent down

John Avery, *D. Secr'y.*

The Council sent the following reply : —

Council Chamber 26th Aug. 1779.

Sir : Your letter of the 18th inst., was received and the Council have so far complied with your request as to order Col. Jackson's regiment to be stationed at Falmouth for the present, and have ordered the necessary stores to be fowarded for their use without loss of time.

J. Powell *President.*

Col. Freeman.

August thirtieth, Stephen Hall, chairman of the Committee of Safety, said of the soldiers and seamen from Bagaduce, that they were "in the greatest distress imaginable" and also that the "affairs here are in the wildest confusion." September third, a prize ship was brought into the harbor that had "on board two hundred soldiers for the British army and stores and goods to a large amount." She was one of the two of the enemy's vessels that were captured by the Continental frigates Boston and Dean.

At the opening of the year 1780, the prospects were gloomy indeed. Provisions were scarce and very high. The currency had depreciated to such an extent that it was almost worthless, and the British and Tories were troublesome on the Penobscot. Gen. Peleg Wadsworth was placed in command of the department of Maine, and he arrived here April sixth, in the Protector, twenty-six guns, Capt. John Foster Williams. On board was a midshipman, then eighteen years of age, who afterwards became Commodore Edward Preble, whom Portland is proud to own as her son.

Gen. Wadsworth at once organized the regiment of Col. Joseph Prime for service in this state, and the following officers were appointed : —

Lieut. Col.,	Joseph Prime of Berwick.
First Major,	James Johnson of Stroudwater.
Second Major,	Philip Martin Ulmer of Waldoboro.
Quarter Master,	Josiah Chase
Adjutant,	Nat Lord
"	Moses Atkinson of Buxton
Sergt Major,	Enoch Knight of Falmouth.

The headquarters of the regiment were here and five companies were stationed on the Neck, with Capt. Ethan Moore's at Cape Elizabeth. Those that remained here were under command of Capts. Joseph Pride, Josiah Bragdon, Josiah Davis, Daniel Clark and Jedediah Goodwin. Gen. Wadsworth sailed for Camden July twenty-fifth, and Major Ulmer served on Penobscot Bay, where others of the regiment were sent later. The service of these companies was uneventful and they were discharged, excepting thirty men, December sixth.

March 1, 1781, the people of the Neck were much alarmed because of a rumor that the British at Bagaduce were to come and capture the town, and March sixth, the militia regiment was called out, but nothing came of it. The war was now drawing to a close and afterwards the town was probably garrisoned by only a small guard. Capt. Joseph McLellan, Capt. John Reed, Capt. Peter Merrill and Segt. John Bagley were in command of soldiers here during the years 1781, 1782 and 1783.

Falmouth Neck was alarmed many times during the war and many times the militia was called out for defense, but never were obliged to engage the enemy. Several times the militia regiments were mustered here for a draft to fill the quotas, but in certain cases Falmouth was excused because she had filled hers by voluntary enlistments.

The Neck was probably garrisoned from the commencement of the struggle until its close, with from a sergeant's guard to nearly a thousand men, as occasion seemed to require.

April 4, 1783, Samuel Rollins was killed by the bursting of a cannon, while celebrating the cessation of hostilities. He was probably the last man on Falmouth Neck to lose his life in the war for our independence. The History of Portland says: —

> The first day of May was appointed for a public celebration of the joyous occasion, at which a discourse was preached by Rev. Mr. Browne of Stroudwater, accompanied by a contribution for the poor and a public dinner. In the course of the day several rounds of cannon were fired, thirteen at each round, and the whole passed off without any circumstance to disturb the joy and heartfelt satisfaction of the truly happy occasion.

The sons of Old Falmouth heard the first gun fired at Lexington and were ever afterwards ready to go wherever needed. James Sullivan wrote from here January 31, 1776: —

> The four hundred men at Falmouth can never be raised as everyone who can leave home is gone or going to Cambridge. If the General should order another reenforcement they must draw upon this part of the province for women instead of men, and knives and forks instead of arms, otherwise they cannot be obeyed.

Falmouth soldiers were in the trenches nine months at the siege of Boston, took part in the battles of Long Island and White Plains, and marched to reenforce the Northern army at Fort Ticonderoga in 1776 and 1777. They were in the thickest of the fight in the obstinate battles of Hubbardton and Stillwater, and at Saratoga followed Arnold in his mad charges against the British lines, where ten days later they witnessed the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne and his army. Falmouth men joined Washington's army near Philadelphia and were among those patriots at Valley Forge who raised a monument to the fortitude and patience of the American soldier.

On that hot sultry day, June 28, 1778, they were writing history at Monmouth: there Capt. Paul Ellis of this town had his leg shot off, and bled to death before medical assistance arrived. They guarded Burgoyne's army at Cambridge and showed their valor at Quaker Hill. It was Capt. Peter Warren's Falmouth company that first reached the heights and formed at Bagaduce. Of the four hundred, who made this assualt, one hundred were killed or wounded. This was the only bright spot in that expedition, but it has been said "that no more brilliant exploit than this was accomplished by our forces during the war."

In 1780, soldiers from Falmouth were in the army, doing their duty faithfully to their country, and when at the final muster in November, 1783, Falmouth boys answered "here" with almost eight and one-half years service to their credit.

The people of Old Falmouth sent tons of beef and large quantities of other supplies to the army and in

their poverty they helped the poor of Boston. Our soldiers baptized almost every battlefield with their blood, consecrating their very lives to liberty. Long since the little mounds on the battlefields have been leveled by the hand of time, but the memories of those men are kept green around many a hearthstone of their descendants.

We must not forget the gallant sailors of our privateers, whose tales of adventure have thrilled their children and grandchildren, and are passed from generation to generation. Many of those brave patriots suffered and died in the prisonships and were buried with those thousands of unknown at Brooklyn, on the shores of Wallabout Bay.

The noble women of the town stood shoulder to shoulder with their husbands and brothers in the contest. They spun, wove, and made blankets and clothing for the soldiers' comfort, and in many ways added strength to the cause. By chance, a list of forty of the soldiers' families who were supplied by the town has been saved from the destroyed records of that time. Wealth was not the patriot's boast, and honest poverty was no disgrace. This list means much. They were long-service men in the Continental army, who had lost their all and, in order that they might remain with the regiments and fight their country's battles, the town furnished their families with the necessities of life. It was a mutual arrangement. This roll of honor, both for the soldiers and their wives, brings to our minds the woman's share in the struggle. These wives, with the devotion and fortitude of their time, kept together their little

families, waiting patiently for peace and the return of those liberty-loving Americans.

A list of soldiers' families supplied by Old Falmouth, from the town records of May 8, 1779: —

Samuel Tobey Trundy	John Thomas, Jr.
Benjamin Bagley	William Robinson
Hudson Bailey	David Patridge
Mark Wilson	Samuel Heminway
John Parker	Francis Purcell
Noah Cole	Samuel I. Proctor
Francis Ryan	Benaiah Low
Joshua Henshaw	Benjamin Robbins
Thomas Turner	Nicholas Thompson
Uriah Nason	Joseph Morse
John Knight	David Hoyt
Joseph Morse	John Allen
Daniel Small	Jotham Partridge
James Flood	William Post
Bradstreet Bootman	James Low
John Massury	Bartholomew Conant
John Bailey	Dudley Bradstreet
Samuel Graffum	Elisha Finney
Joseph Quimby	Samuel Cole
John Hoyt	Hanniel Clark.

The Loyalists or Tories, as they were called, were a troublesome element on Falmouth Neck at the commencement of the struggle for the colonists' rights. They were influential, quite numerous and active, but were most thoroughly hated by the patriots. They had been men of standing and had not the grievances of those less favored than themselves and therefore thought the rebellion against the king unjustifiable. Many who at first were opposed to the stand taken by

the colonists, afterwards became zealous patriots, and there were many of humble circumstances who held Tory principles, but did not make themselves obnoxious to the patriots, and remained here during the war. The most conspicuous of the Tories left the town and sacrificed their all for opinion's sake; were loyal to their government, and we should not reproach them now for their fidelity to their king. They simply did nothing towards establishing our free republic and therefore they cannot share in the glory of it. Several Tories returned after the war and were respected citizens of the town, some of whom recovered their property for a small sum.

The Absentee Act of 1778 drew the line sharply between the Tories and the patriots. Under that act the property of the Tories was sold as if they, in fact, were dead. If they returned they were committed to jail until they could be sent out of the state, and if they returned the second time, they were to suffer on conviction the pains of death without the benefit of the clergy.

Among the most prominent Tories of the Neck were the custom officers. George Lyde, the collector, came here from Boston to succeed Francis Waldo in March, 1770. His fees were £150 per year. Thomas Oxnard, son-in-law of Gen. Jedediah Preble, was deputy and Daniel Wyer, Sr., was tide survevor. Arthur Savage, the comptroller of customs, lived where the Casco House was afterwards, about where the Casco National Bank is now situated. Here is where he was mobbed. Thomas Child, the weigher

and gauger, was the only customs officer who remained and joined the colonists. He continued in charge of the collection district until 1787. Parson John Wiswell went with Capt. Mowat in 1775, as did Francis Waldo. Jeremiah Pote, and Robert Pagan, his son-in-law, both notorious Tories, left the town. Thomas Wyer, another son-in-law of Pote, went also. Thomas Coulson, who made much trouble for our forefathers by insisting on rigging and loading his mast-ship, sailed away and never returned. Edward Oxnard, a son-in-law of Jabez Fox, who, with his brother, returned after the war and became respected citizens, went also. Thomas Ross, James Wildridge, Joshua Eldridge, and Samuel Longfellow, mariners, left the town, as did John Wright, the merchant. Col. William Tyng, the sheriff of the county, a descendant of George Cleaves, the first settler, whose father, Com. Edward Tyng and his grandfather, Capt. Edward Tyng, were identified with the history of Portland, and were gallant officers in their county's service, although he left the reputation of "a true man in every relation of life," caused the patriots of this county much concern because of his allegiance to his king. Col. Tyng went to New York in 1775 and joined the British army, in which he held a commission, and while there befriended several of his old friends and neighbors who were unfortunate enough to be confined in the prison ships, among whom was Edward Preble, afterwards the commodore, and Carey McLellan of Gorham.

Col. Tyng, on his first visit to Gorham after the war, appeared at the meeting-house door and no one offered him a seat, until Carey McLellan stepped forward and escorted him to his pew. The citizens had voted not to allow a Tory to live in the town, and it is said that no other man would have dared to have offered Tyng a seat. Col. Tyng moved to Gorham in 1793, where as a generous, charitable and kind-hearted man, his death in 1807, was deeply lamented. He was buried in the Eastern Cemetery under the shade of the old pine tree where his monument now stands. He had no children.

> True patriots they, for be it understood,
> They left their country for their country's good.

The story of Falmouth Neck in the Revolution, has not all been told, but that part of Old Falmouth, now Portland, did well its part in that struggle. It suffered and contributed as much, in proportion to its means, as any town in the colonies. Our noble ancestors left to us the heritage of a free country for which they are entitled to the gratitude of each succeeding generation.

We have a beautiful city with much interesting history, and it is our duty so to guard it, that when it becomes the possession of the generations to come, they will be as proud of the people of our time, as we are of our ancestors.

> Where's the coward that would not dare
> To fight for such a land?

NOTE. — Page 85, second line, should read 1792 instead of 1791.

OTIS RUSSELL JOHNSON.

BY BROWN THURSTON.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 14, 1896.

THERE is a current tradition among the Johnson families that three brothers came from England to this country about 1716, one of whom settled in Virginia, another in Connecticut, and the third in Old Rowley, Massachusetts. I have not been able to get the names of either of these immigrants. The one who settled in Massachusetts was the ancestor of the subject of this paper.

Dea. Samuel Johnson, the grandfather of our subject, was born in New Rowley, now Georgetown, Massachusetts, 1748. He married Susannah Searle, and became a boot- and shoe-maker in Georgetown. In 1805, he moved with his family to Winthrop, Maine, where he purchased a farm, which he cultivated, and continued the manufacture of boots and shoes. He died, 1814. At the time of his moving to Winthrop he had three sons, Moses, William and Samuel.

Moses Johnson, the father of our subject, was born in Georgetown, 1787; he married Philomela Jewett, of English descent and a native of the same place. He learned the shoemaking business of his father, and when he became of age went to Augusta, Maine, and opened a shoeshop. In 1817, three years after his

father's death, he removed to Winthrop, taking his father's plant, both as a farmer and boot and shoe manufacturer. By energy and good judgment he prospered, and for the time and place did a large business.

He was not satisfied with the home market for his goods and, with the courage and push of a true New England born man, he conceived the idea of improving his sales by going to New Orleans, Louisiana, for a market. Therefore, having manufactured quite a large stock of boots and shoes, he shipped them on board a sailing vessel at Hallowell, ten miles distant, in the fall of 1821, and started for New Orleans. For some purpose the vessel stopped at Savannah, Georgia, where Mr. Johnson contracted the yellow fever, and died a few days after leaving that place, being thirty-three years of age, and was buried in the Atlantic Ocean.

Moses Johnson was an independent thinker, and formed his opinions and course in life from his own judgment. He was nurtured and brought up in the Congregational faith, and his wife was a member of the Congregational church, but he adopted the Universalist belief.

New Orleans at that time was like a foreign country, as the French and Spanish were the principal inhabitants, and their languages the only tongues in general use.

The death of her husband was a sore trial to Mrs. Johnson, who heard of the sad event in January 1822, a few days after the birth of her daughter.

As will be readily supposed Mr. Johnson's venture was not cared for as it would have been under his own supervision, and the returns were very small, which left his family in straitened circumstances. There was much sympathy expressed by neighbors and friends, but it did not come in the way of means of support. The widow, thus thrown upon her own resources for food and raiment for her family found it to be a heavy task, but her New England training and experience had in a good measure fitted her for it, and by strict economy, great perseverance and industry in sewing and other work, she accomplished it, maintaining an honorable position in the community till her death, which occurred in 1839.

Otis Russell Johnson, at the time of his father's death, was seven years of age, and was sent to live with his uncle, Rev. Samuel Johnson, pastor of the Congregational church in Alna, Maine, where he lived several years. Rev. Mr. Johnson frequently had students, who had been suspended from Bowdoin College, sent to him to pursue their studies, and an anecdote is related of Otis R. in connection with them, that shows he had a tact for trading in early life. One of the students gave him a small piece of money and told him to buy a pipe, some tobacco, and if there was any money left he might buy him a whistle. He bought the whistle first and then the pipe and tobacco with what remained.

Otis Russell Johnson was born in Augusta, Maine, April 2, 1815, and when eleven years old commenced to serve an apprenticeship of seven years with his cousin,

Samuel Johnson Philbrook, in Winthrop, Maine, after which he worked several years as a journeyman. He opened a shop on his own account in Camden, Maine, 1840, and succeeded in working up an excellent business. In the fall of 1844 he determined to try his fortune in the West and, taking a good stock of boots and shoes, located in Coldwater, Michigan. The next spring finds him in Chicago, Illinois, in the shoe and eather business, under the firm name of Wells & Johnson (Andrew Shelton Wells, whose daughter he subsequently married). Two years later he moved to Ganges, Allegan County, Michigan, where for five years he carried on a tannery. In 1855, he commenced to manufacture and deal in lumber in Racine, Wisconsin, where he made his home, and followed that business to the time of his death, March 6, 1895. He was taken sick with an attack of la grippe, which developed into acute bronchitis, and on account of his advanced age the disease hastened the end. Although it was known that Mr. Johnson was a very sick man, it was not expected that his death would occur so suddenly, and words of sorrow were heard on all sides.

In every move he appears to have been prosperous, and by his shrewd foresight and good judgment invested his increasing means where it would turn to good account.

He was heavily interested in timber lands and mills in the redwood districts of California, Marinette, Wisconsin, Menominee, and other Michigan localities. He was a stockholder and president of the Fish Bros.

Wagon Co. of Racine; president of the Racine Basket Co.; president of Union National Bank; president of the Menominee River Lumber Company of Marinette, Wisconsin; president of the Union Lumber Company of San Francisco, California, and was a promoter and officer of many other institutions and industries of Racine, where he spent the last years of his life. He was associated with the late Senator Stockbridge and General Russell Alger, of Michigan, and ex-Senator Sawyer, in the lumber and pine land business.

A local paper says: —

> The record of Mr. Johnson's business career was grand. Beginning as he did on the shoemaker's bench, he had by his own industry, frugality and judicious investments accumulated a large fortune; generally believed to be one of the wealthiest men in Wisconsin. In his death Racine loses one of its most valuable, enterprising, and progressive citizens; one who never lost an opportunity to advance the interests of the city.

In political sentiment he was a Whig, his first presidential vote having been cast for William Henry Harrison, in 1836. When the Republican party came into existence he joined it at once, and was true to its principles to the end of his life.

Mr. Johnson married, in Saugatuck, Allegan County, Michigan, August, 1853, Emily Wells, born April 6, 1833, daughter of Andrew Shelton and Mary (Warner) Wells of Henrietta, New York, who survives her husband. This union was blessed by the birth of six children, all of whom are living, and all Episcopalians.

Children.

Otis Wells (Johnson), born in Saugatuck, Michigan, March 12, 1855; a lumber manufacturer and banker, vice-president of Fish Bros. Wagon Co., in Racine, Wisconsin; married, June 13, 1890, Ellen Vennum of Watseka, Illinois, and have Josephine Johnson.

Thomas Lacy (Johnson), born in Racine, Wisconsin, January 17, 1857; in lumber business in San Francisco, California, unmarried.

Charles Russell (Johnson), born February 14, 1859; in lumber business in San Francisco; married, June 3, 1884, Mary Stockton Conness of Boston, Massachusetts, and have Otis Russell Johnson and Emily Johnson.

Mary (Johnson), born in Saugatuck, December 6, 1864; living in Racine, unmarried.

Jeannette (Johnson), born in Racine, January 19, 1867, where she is living, unmarried.

Francis Jewett (Johnson), born in Saugutuck, Michigan, May 2, 1876; secretary of Fish Bros. Wagon Co. in Racine, unmarried.

BEARING OF CAPTAIN JOHN MASON'S TITLES UPON MAINE HISTORY.

BY THE LATE WILLIAM M. SARGENT.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 6, 1888.

[CONCLUDED.]

LIST OF PAPERS &c IN ALLEN VS. SPENCER.

Court Record, Jan'y Term, 1704.
" " July " 1704.
The Writ.
" Bond.
" Plea.

Plaintiff's Exhibit: —

Deed Sir F. Gorges to Cap^{t} John Mason.
Copy of Gorges' Charter of 1639.
Extract from Cap^{t} John Mason's Will.
Judgment of Mass. Gene^{l} Court in Mason vs. Leader, 1653.
Deed from the Mason Heirs to Samuel Allen.

Defendant's Exhibit: —

Grant of Town of Kittery to Thomas Spencer, 1652.
Copy of Thomas Spencer's Will and Codicil, 1679.
Copy of Deed of Thomas Spencer et ux. to William Spencer, 1663.
Copy of William Spencer's Will, 1687.
Deposition of Katherine Hammond.

Appeal of Samuel Allen.
Answer of Humphrey Spencer to above Appeal.
Final Disposition of the Appeal.
Copy of John Usher's Will.

York Court Records.

Com. Pleas — January Term, 1704.

VI., 144.

Samuel Allen Esq^{r} is plt in a Plea of Trespass & Ejectment, Uersus Humphrey Spencer of Kittery is Defenda^{t} for witholding from y^{e} plt y^{e} Possession of one hundred Acres of Land & Meadow in y^{e} Township of Kittery as p Attachm^{t} on file. The writ Abates because y^{e} Date of y^{e} Deed Specified in y^{e} writt was not menconed Neither was it Expressed in y^{e} sd writt from whom y^{e} plt Deriues his Title.

Memordudum Samuel Allen Esq^{r} Plt & m^{r} Humphrey Spencer def^{t} do Enter into a Rule of Court to Try their Titles to y^{e} land aboue menconed by y^{e} Same writt y^{e} sd Allen haueing shewed his Deeds & from whom he deriued his Title which Accon is to be heard and determined at y^{e} next Inferio^{r} Court of Comon pleas to be holden at Wells for y^{e} County of york

Attst Jos Hamond Cler^{s}

Id. 146.

Com. Plas — July Term 1704.

Samuel Allen of Newbury in y^e^ County of Essex Esq^r^ is plt. in a plea of Trespass and Ejectm^t^

Versus m^r^ Humphrey Spencer of Kittery in y^e^ County of yorke is Defendant for witholding from y^e^ plt one hundred Acres of Upland and Meadow as p Attachm^t^ on file.

The Jury finds for the Defendant Costs of Court, by reason y^e^ Law of y^e^ Prouince of y^e^ Massachusets Bay Entituled An act for Limitacon and Quieting of Possessions &c.[1] Together with y^e^ Town grant and Euidences in y^e^ Case Concurring therewith make him a good title to y^e^ land in Controuersy. Its therefore Considered by ye Court that y^e^ sd Humphrey Spencer Shall recouer against y^e^ sd Sam^ll^ Allen Esq^r^ Costs of Court.

The Plaintiffe Appeales from this verdict and Judgm^t^ unto y^e^ Next Superio^r^ Court of Judicature to be holden at Boston within y^e^ County of Suffolke, and y^e^ sd Sam^ll^ Allen principle & m^r^ James Minses of Salem and James King of Salisbury his Surities Acknowledge themselues bound and firmly obliged unto y^e^ sd Humphrey Spencer in y^e^ Sum of Thirty pounds money that y^e^ sd Sam^ll^ Allen Esqr Shall prossecute his sd Appeale w^th^ Effect At y^e^ sd Superio^r^ Court.

York ss

The Writ. [L. S.] Ann By the Grace of God of England Scottland ffrance & Ireland Queen defender of the faith &c. To the Sheriff or Marshell of our County of York his under Sheriff a deputy Greetting, Wee Command you to Attach the goods or estate of Humphrey Spencer of Berwick in the toun of Kittery within our sd County of york in our Province of Maine yeoman To the value of ffive hundred pounds money And for want therof to take the body of the sd Humphrey Spencer (if he may be found in your precinct) And him safely keep So that you have him before our Justices of our Inferiour Court of Common Pleas next to be holden at york within & for our sd County of york upon the first Tuesday of Aprill next Then & there in our sd Court to Ansuer unto Samuel Allen of Newberry in our County of Essex in New England Esq^r^ otherwise

[1] Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, I, pp. 41, 42, 300.

Called Samuel Allen of the City of London in our kingdom of England Merchant In a plea of Trespass and Ejectment, for that the sd Humphrey Spencer hath Illegally entred upon & doth with hold from the pl^{t} the possession of a tract or parcell of land Containing by Estimation One hundred Acres of upland & meadow with the houses & buildings erected & Standing thereon Together with the garden Orchard & other Appurtenances of the Same all lying & being Scituat with in the bounds of Berwick in the township of Kittery aforesd upon the east side of Newchawannock River with in three miles next adjoining to the sd River butted & bounded by Newchawannock Small River on the North & on the East by the lands belonging to Cap^{t} John Plaisteed on the South by the Lands of M^{r} Richard Nason & upon the west by the sd great River or however otherwise the same be butted or bounded being a part of the Tract of land purchased by Cap^{t} John Mason of London Esq^{r} dec^{d} from S^{r} fferdinando Gorges of London aforsd knight dec^{d} & is now the proper estate of & doth belong unto the pl^{t}. As by the severall deeds & Conveyances therof to be produced in Court Refferrence being therto had will plainly & fully Appear, Now the pl^{t} in fact Saith that the sd Humphrey Spencer Naither hath delivered nor yet will deliver to him the possession of the sd tract or parcell of land aforesed with the houses & buildings erected & standing theron & Garden Orchard & Appurtenances of the same but do Still with hold & Refuse to deliver the same to the pl^{t} tho often thereto Required & desired to the dammage of the sd Samuell Allen pl^{t} as he Saith the Sume of ffour hundred & fifty pounds money which shall then & there be made to Appear with other due damages And have you there this writt with your doings therin. Witness Joseph Hamond Esq^{r} att Kittery the Fourteenth day of March in the third year of our Reigne Annoq dominj 170$\frac{3}{4}$.

Jos : Hamond Cler^{s}

Bond Served personally upon Humphrey Spencer 18 March 170$\frac{3}{4}$ by Jos : Curtis Sheriff, who returns a Bond in the poenal sume of £500, for appearance, signed by Humphrey Spencer principal and Benjamin Nason, Thomas Goodin and Richard Tozer sureties.

Plea the Deft pleads that he doth not withhold the possession of the Lands mentioned in the writt from the pl^{t} but in his own Right &c.

Cha Story Attorny for Defte

Files. [Among the papers put in by Plaintiff the first was the Deed Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Capt. John Mason.]

"No 2" was a copy of Sir Ferdinando Gorges Charter of 3 April 1639, of which only the first and the seventy-ninth and last pages remain, but sufficient to positively identify it.

[It is evident on comparing this with the Court Records copy of Gorges Charter that they are made by different persons as the endings are quite dissimilar.]

[Copied from the MS. volume of Mason's titles; being the 12th document therein.]

This Identure made the Seaventeenth day of September Anno Dom 1635 and in the Eleaventh yeare of the Reigne of Our Sovereigne Lord Charles by the grace of God King of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland Defender of the ffaith &c Between Sir Ferdinando Gorges of London knight on the One part and Captain Iohn Mason of London Esquire on the other part Wittnesseth That whereas our Late Sovereign Lord King Iames of Blessed memory by his highness Letters patents under the Great Seal of England bearing date at Westminster the Third day of November in the Eighteenth Yeare of his highness reigne over the Realme of England ffor the considerations in the same Letters patents expressed hath absolutely given granted and confirmed unto the Councill established at Plimouth in the County of Devon ffor the planting ruling ordering and governing of New England in America and to their Successors and assignes forever All the Land of New England aforesaid lying and being in breadth from ffourty Degrees to ffourty Eight Degrees Northerly Latitude inclusively Together with all ffirm lands Soyles grounds havons ports rivers waters ffishings hunting hawking ffowling and all mines and minerals as well Royall mines of Gold and Silver as other mines & minerals and all and Singular other commodities Jurisdictions Royalties priviledges and preheminences as by the said Letters patents amongst diverse other things therein contained more at large it doth and may appeare And Whereas the said

Councill established at plimouth in the County of Devon ffor the planting ruling ordering and governing of New England in America of the One part and the said Sir fferdinando Gorges of London knight on the other part ffor the considerations in the Same Identure contained have given granted aliened bargained sold Enfeoffed and confirmed unto the said Sir fferdinando Gorges his heyres and assignes for ever All that part purpart or portion of the main land of New England aforesaid begining at the Entrance of pascataway harbour and soe to pass up the same into the river of Newichewanock and through the same unto the ffurthest head thereof and from thence Northwestwards till Sixty miles be finished And from pascataway harbour aforesaid Northeastwards along the Sea coast to Sagadahock and up the river thereof to the river of Kenebeck and through the Same unto the head thereof and soe up into the land Northwestwards untill Sixty miles be finished ffrom the mouth or Entrance of Sagadahock ffrom which period to cross over land to the Sixty miles End formerly accompted up in to the Land ffrom pascataway harbour through Newichewanock River (which amongst other Lands are granted unto the said Sir fferdinando Gorges) Together with all mines and minerals aswell royall mines of Gold and Silver as other mines and minerals precious Stones Woods marishes rivers waters ffishings hawking hunting and ffowling and all other Royalties Jurisdictions privileges preheminces profits and commodities whatsoever with all and Singular their apurtenances with all other privileges liberties and immunities which shall or may arise within the said Limits and precincts aforesaid as by the Said Indenture more at large it doth appeare Now therefore this Indenture ffurther Witnesseth That the Said Sir ffordinando Gorges for diverse good causes and considerations him hereunto especially moving have granted aliened bargained Sold enfeoffed and confirmed and by these presents doth grant alien bargain Sell Enfeoffe and confirme unto the Said Captain Iohn Mason his heyres and assignes All that part or portion of land begining at the Entrance of Newichewanock river and soe upwards alongst the Said river and to the ffurthest head thereof and to containe in breadth through all the length aforsaid Three miles within the land from every part of the said River and half way over the said river Together with all and Singular har-

bours creekes marishes woods rivers waters lakes mines and minerals aswell royal mines of Gold & Silver as other mines and minerals precious Stones ffishings hawking and ffowling and all other royalties Jurisdictions priviledges preheminences profits commodities and hereditaments whatsoever with all and Singular their and every of their appurtenances with all other privileges liberties immunities escheats and casualties thereof which shall or may arise within the Limits and precincts aforesaid To be holden of his Majesty his heyres and Successors as of his highness Mannor of East Greenwich in the County of Kent in ffree and Common Soccage and not in Capite or by Knights Service yeelding and paying to his Majesty his heyres and Successors the ffifth part of the Oare of Gold and Silver that from time to time and at all times hereafter shalbe there gotten had and obtained ffor all services duties and demands as in and by the said recited Letters patents are reserved To have and to hold all the said part or portion of Land and all other the said bargained premises with their and every of their appurtenances unto the said Captain Iohn Mason his heyres and Assignes To the onely and proper use and behoof of him the said Captain Iohn Mason his heyres and assignes for ever And to be injoyed as fully ffreely and in as large ample and beneficial manner and forme to all intents and purposes whatsoever as he the said Sir fferdinando Gorges by virtue of the said recited Indenture might or ought to have hold and enjoy the same or any part thereof In Witness whereof the said parties to these present Indentures interchangeably have Sett their hands and Seals the Day and Yeare ffirst above written

Sealed and Delivered
in the presence of
Mathew Bradley
Roger Beal
Iohn Moor/ Ser.

fferd. Gorges

This is a true Copie
Edw. Cranfield

B: Sargeant.
Rich: Povey.

An extract from the Will of Cap^{t} John Mason,[1] certified to by Jos. Hammond Clerk as compared in Court 4 July 1704.

Providing that if Joseph Tufton, or either of his four children (grandchildren of the testator should sue or seek to recover any part of £1000, heretofore deposited in my hand by Joseph Tufton, that such devises and bequests as he had therein made them, should pass to my brother Doctor Robert Mason Chancellor of the Dioceses of Winchester; also deuising all land &c. not bequeathed by this will "unto my Loveing wife Ann Mason and her assignes for and dureing the tearme of her Naturall life."

At a General Court Called by the Gouernor and Councill and held at Boston the 30 august 1653 —

Vpon Examination of the Case Respecting M^{rs} Ann Mason and m^{r} Richard Leader on a hearing of m^{r} Ioseph Mason and m^{r} Thaddeus Riddun Agents and attorneys for Either party Considering allso the late Returne of the committee touching the extent of the Northerly line of their pattent doe finde that the Lands Claymed in the Right of Captaine Iohn Mason and now possesed by m^{rs} Ann Mason are within this patent and that m^{r} Ioseph Mason as Atturny for and on the behalfe of m^{rs} Ann Mason as also most of the people there inhabiting haue voluntarily Submitted to the Jurisdiction of Gouerment to this Colony of the Massachsetts And that Some lands at Newitchawanuk with the Riuers there was by Agreement of S^{r} firdinando Georges and others, Apportioned vnto Captaine John Mason and that hee hath also Right by purchas of the Indians to Some Lands there and Also by possesion and Improvment by building and otherwise And that Captaine Iohn Mason did bequeath vnto his wife m^{rs} Ann Mason Dureing her life all Lands and heridetaments not otherwise perticulerly disposed of by his will and that the said Lands in Question betwixt m^{rs} Ann Mason and m^{r} Leader are not perticulery Disposed by Captaine Iohn Mason or otherwise then they are in the General bequeath in the Will giuen to her Dureing her life and that the said Lands passed by m^{r} Leader afforsaid are part of the Lands disposed of to the said m^{rs} Ann Mason for Terme of her life And therefore Judge that m^{r} Leader hath vniustly entered

[1] N. H. Coll. i. 317, which does not contain these clauses, but see Hazard's State Papers, which does.

vpon and Dissposesed m^rs Ann Mason of that part of the Riuers and of some lands where hee hath Erected a Saw Mill in his owne Wrong And orders that a quantity of Land with the priveledg of the Riuers at Newitchewanick proportionable to Captaine Iohn Mason disbursments be Layed out by order of this Court to the vse of m^rs Ann mason and other the heires of Cap^tn Iohn Mason —

And the Court Grants the bill of costs presented by m^r Joseph mason of Six pounds ten Shillings and fouer pence against m^r Richard Leader

A true Copy as appears
of Record Examined
p Isc Addington Secry^t
A True Coppie Exam^d in Court July y^e 4^th 1704
p Jos Hamond Cler

DEFENDANT'S PAPERS IN ALLEN v SPENCER.

[The taxation of Costs for Deft shows that all of these except two depositions, presumably to the same effect as the one remaining on file, are still on file —]

May 24^th 1652 / Granted & Lotted out by y^e townsmen of Kittery unto Thomas Spencer his heires or Assignes for ever a tract of land bounded as followeth — begining at a tree Marked near unto M^r Basill Parkers field and So runs up to a little round Swamp where there are trees marked and from those trees upon y^e line Southeast and by East and back into the woods till two hundred Acres be Accomplished And it is bounded on y^e Southeast Side with Severall marked trees and So to run upon y^e Same line Southeast & by East

A true Copie p Jos Hamond Cler~

A Copy of Thomas Spencer's Will and the Codicil thereto, dated June 2^d and 5^th 1679.

See Sargent's Maine Wills, page, 66 —

A copy of Thomas Spencer & ux's Deed to their Son William Spencer, dated 20 Oct 1663. See York Deeds II, 175

A copy of William Spencer's Will, dated June 18, 1687. See Sargent's Maine Wills, p. 110

The Deposition of Katharine Hamond [sworn to 3 July 1704, at Kittery] aged about Sixty-eight yeares — this Depon^t^ Testifieth that about fifty eight yeares Since, which was in the year of our Lord: one thousand Six hundred forty and Six, She well remembers that Thomas Spencer, Grandfather to Humphrey Spencer now of Barwick, dwelt at that plantation, and near y^e^ place where the Said Humphrey now dwells And that it has ever Since been Said & reputed to belong to the family of the s^d^ Spencer's, And further Saith not.

The Deposition of Henry Langstaffe

The Deposition of Lucy Stileman.

These two depositions have been lost from the files. [See above note.]

Province of the Massachusetts Bay
& County of Suffolk.

To the Hon^ble^ her Maj^tyes^ Justices of the Superiour Court of Judicature Holden att Boston the first Tuesday of Novemb^r^ 1704.

The appeal of Sam^ll^ Allen Esq^r^ from a Judgm^t^ obtained ag^t^ him by humphery Spencer at an Inferiour Court of Comon pleas holden at Wells for the County of York the 4^th^ of July 1704 when and where the s^d^ Sam^ll^ Allen was pl^t^ and the Humprey Spencer was Def^t^ in an action of Trespass and Ejectm^t^ for witholdeing the possission of a Certain tract or parcell of Land as is sett forth att Large in the writte, the Said Humprey Spencer pleading the Gen^ll^ Issue the Cause went to the Jury, who found for the Def^t^ and Judgm^t^ accordingly all which may appear by the Copies of the Case was brought in to this Hon^ble^ Court from which Judgm^t^ the abovenamed Sam^ll^ Allen appealed and gives the following reasons:—

1^st^ for that Judgm^t^ instead of Being for the said Humprey Spencer ought by Law to have been for the now appellant.

2^ly^ because the only tittle the S^d^ humprey Spencer had or insisted on att the triall was his possission according to a law of this Province. To which is answered.

1^st^ That the possission he means was Elleagall and gained by wrong for old father Spencer und^r^ whome the appelle Claims *Satt*,

him Selfe down in the Lands of Cap^{t} John Mason without any Tittle or pretence in the world and was forewarned when he did itt by the Said Masons ord^{r}—

2^{dly} the possission of old father Spencer do^{r} realy strengthen the Tittle of the appellant for that he was Sent over a Serv^{t} into this Country by Capt. John Mason &^{c} putt upon his Lands att the Eastwards. Soe that his possission was in wright of his master while he Lived and after his Death in wright of those to whome itt did apertaine.

3^{dly} the third reason of appeal for that att a Gen^{l} Court holden att boston 30th of Aug^{t} 1653 in a Case then depending between M^{rs} Ann Mason and M^{r} Richard Leader, the Judgem^{t} of the Said Court was that Capt. John Mason had a verry good Tittle by virtue of his Grants and purchases. possission buildings and other improvem^{ts} unto the Said Lands att Newechewanack &c. now the Lands in Controversy depends upon the verry same wright and Tittle in all points.

Verte

4^{r} The appelle can derive noe wright to the Lands in Controversy from or und^{r} any Grant or pattent from the Crown of Eng^{ld} without which foundation noe writte or Tittle can be good to any Lands in New England or in the English Dominions.

5^{ly} For that the Appellant do^{r} derive and Can Show an unquestionable tittle to the Lands in Controversey from the Crown of Eng^{ld} Viz^{t} as follows King James the ^{1} by his Lett^{rs} patents bareing Date the third of Novemb^{r} 1620 — Grants all the North America to Severall Noblemen and Gentlemen by the name of the Councill of Plym^{o} which Councill of Plym^{o} did afterwards viz^{t} the 10th Day of aug^{t} 1622 Grante unto S^{r} ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason the Land between Meremack River and Sadagahock as may appear by Said Grants within which Grants the Land in Controversy is included and apart of after which Grant the said ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason Came to an agrem^{t} and Devided the Lands, their Granted Lands between them and in the year (1635) S^{r} ferdinando Gorges obtained the Great Seal of England Granting and Confirming unto the Said ferdinando Gorges the Lands in his divedend as may appear by his Grants after which viz^{t} the 17th day of

Septemb^{r} (1635) the Said S^{r} ferdinando Gorges by His Deed as may appear Grants and Conveyes unto Capt. John Mason of London &^{c} all that part or porcion of Lands begining att the Entrance of Newechawanack River and soe upwards alongst the Said River and to the furthest head thereof and to Contain in breadth through all the Lenghtt aforesaid three miles within the Lands from every part of the Said River and halfe way over the Said River within which bounds the Lands in Controversy are included and is apart thereof The Said Capt. John Mason being soe Seized gave and demised the Same to his wife Ann Mason dureing her naturell Life and after her Death to his Grand Child Rob^{t} Tufton alles Rob^{t} Tufton Mason as may appear by the will of the Said Capt. John Mason & the S^{d} Rob^{t} Tufton Mason being soe seized died. Seized thereof after whos Death the Lands before mentioned desended and Came to his Son John Tufton Mason who, togeather with his brother Rob^{t} Tufton Mason Granted Conveayed and Sold the Lands unto the now appellant by good and Sufficant deeds in Law with fine and Recovery as Shall appear —

Verte

all which Matt^{rs} and things with what ever Elce may be ofered being Considered, the appealant hopes yo^{r} hon^{rs} & the Gentlemen of the Jury will See aboundant Cause to reverse the former Judgm^{t} and award the appellant his reasonable Costs—

Samue Allen

York ss /

These Resons of Appeal Rec^{d} Octob^{r} ye 17th 1704.
p Jos : Hamond Cler^{s}

(Addressed on the back)
To m^{r} Jos hamon
Clerk of the Courts
in
Kittery

Copy of paper on file among the early Suffolk Court Files.
Attest :
John Noble
Clerk Sup. Jud. Ct

Province of the Massashusetts Bay and County of Suffolk.

To the Hon^rble Her Maj^ties Justices of the Superior Court of Judicature holden at Boston the first Tuesday of November 1704.

The Answers of Humphrey Spencer Appellee to the Reasons of Appeale of Samuell Allen Esq^r Appellant./

1^st. The Appellee Sayth that the fformer Judgement given in his favour ag^t the Appellant, at her Majesties Inferiour Court of Common pleas holden at Wells for the County of York the 4^th July 1704, was Just and Right & according to the Laws of England and New England; because the Appellee proved his possession and his predecessors to be upwards of Sixty years, which by virtue of the Statutes of Limitation and the Laws of this province is an undoubted Right to the Appellee./

2^dly ffor the Appellant to Say that old father Spencer Gained his possession wrongfully and Satt doune upon the Lands of m^r John Mason is absolutely to the Contrary for the Appellant cann neuer make it appeare, that the Appellee or his predecessors ever paid any ffee or acknowledgm^t to m^r Mason, S^r ffardinando Gorge or the Appellant for the Lands in Controversie; which if Mason had any Right to said Lands he would never have Suffered the Appellee and his predecessors to Enjoy the same Sixty years and Upwards without Molestation./

3^rdly to what the Appellant Sayeth in his third Reason of Appeale to a Case formerly depending at a General Court at Boston 30: August 1653, between m^rs Ann Mason and m^r Richard Leader Relates nothing to this Case at all which will be fully Spoke to by the Appellees Councill upon the Tryall./

To the 4^th and 5^th Last Reasons of Appeale wherein the Appellant Endeavors to Sett forth his Title is very Large and of Small validity / to which Referr; to these Reasons the Appellee Answereth, that as he remembers it doth not appeare there is any Pattent; but a Coppy which is not Attested by any officer of any Court of Record or other person Qualifyed to give Such Coppyes, And that S^r ffardinando Gorges Deed to Cap^t John Mason of London is neither Executed with Liuery or Seizin, nor proued to be the hand and Seale of Said S^r ffardinando Gorge nor acknowledged or Recorded—

therefor the Appellant cann make out noe Right or title to the Land in Controversie.

And Seeing that the Appellee hath proued his and his predecessors peaceable possession for upwards of Sixty years which by the Statute of Limitations and the Laws of this prouince giues the Subject a Right and Title to Lands possessed Soe long without molestation; The Appellee therefor humbly hopes that all these matters taken into the Serious Consideration of your Honours, and the Gentlemen of the Jury that you will see Just Cause to Confirme the former Judgment. And allow the Appellee his full Costs of Court.

Cha: Story Attorny
for the Appellee/

Copy of paper on file among early Suffolk Court Files.

Attest:
John Noble,
Clerk Sup. Jud. Court.

In the name of God, Amen. This 28. Apr. 1725. Jn° Usher of Charlestown in County of Middlesex in New Engl[d] tho weake in body yett being of good & sound memory. thanks be to God, being desirous for settling, ordering & disposing of that Estate w[ch] the Lord hath lent me & in some measure continued . . . .

I doe make this my last Will & Testament hereby declareing & revoakeing & making null & voide all former Wills by me made, in maner & form following . . .

I committ my soule to God Almighty my Saviour hoping for Jesius pardon of my sins & eternal salvation thro the atone. the meritts of Jesus Christs my redeemor and my body to be decently buried in such maner as my Executors or Overseers hereafter mentioned shall think fitt.

I give to my son John Usher at my deceased five hundred pounds haveing brought him up att Colledge . . . for settlement in the University

Item: I give Elizabeth Usher, my daughter at day mariage five hundred pounds At my decease one half of my farm called Ten Hills Lands Houseing ffencing timber trees & stone &c thereon

Item: I give to my daughter Francis Usher at day of Marriage five hundred pounds. At my decease one halfe Ten Hills Farm y^t^ part called my Homestead Land, Housing ffencing timber trees & stone thereon . . .

Item. I give to my son Hezekiah Usher five hundred pounds when come of age or day of Mariage, & at my decease give to said Hezekiah all the Houseing nigh the land in King Street Boston, being land of Inheritance given by the Will of Hez^r^ Usher father to Jn^o^ Usher, the Testator, with all rights priviledges & Appurtenances thereto belonging, and to his heirs,

Item: I give to David Jeffries, Twenty pounds.

Item: I give to Elizabeth Elliott Seventy five pounds

Item: I give Rebecca Wentworth children seventy five pounds

Item: I give David Jeffrys children seventy five pounds

Item: I give Sarah Jeffry Seventy-two pounds

David Jeffries Lands & money with his wife Jain Usher received One Thousand foure hundred & seventy pound and by Deed guift to him & his children from Jn^o^ Usher Six hundred & Two pounds

Item: I give Eliz^a^ Savage Ten pounds

I give ffrancis Walton Ten pounds.

I give Jain Allen Ten pounds.

I give Jain ffeek Ten pounds

Item: I give Benjamin Wadsworth five pounds

I give Benjamin Colman five pounds

I give Simon Broadstreet five pounds

Item: I give to Elis^a^ Usher, my wife daghter to S^r^ Allen Esqr. deceased One Thousand Achrees Land in Town Ship Hampton called bi the name Boares Head surveyed & laid out by one Godsoe for Jn^o^ Usher Witness Col Sidrach Walton's deed drawn by Charles Story Secretary. S Allen dying before effected possession taken by Jn^o^ Usher and sent on record Portsmouth S^r^ Allen Esq kept out possession Lands in Mason's pattent grant as Legall Proprietor as on record & many hundred pounds for support and subsistence of s^d^ Allen's family for which neuere charged one penny.

I give to Elizabeth Usher daughter to s^d^ Allen all said track One Thousand Acres Land in with dowry, to Heirs, Executors, Admin-

istrators, forever, all Timber Trees Soils Royalties Hawking all Fishing & Fowling. fishery in river & ponds, and all the soils before said land to low water . . . . . sea

I appoint In° Ashford, Medford, E. Goff, Cambridge Esq. to be guardians in trust to & for my son Hezekiah Usher till he comes of age or day of mariage. in all respects to act & doe as an Executor in Execution of this my will, I give to s^d^ Guardians Ashford & Goff Esq^rs^ Twenty pounds each.

And when my son Hezekiah Usher come of age, or day of mariage my Will is the Estate not by Will bequeathed or equally divided both reall & personal between Hezekiah Usher Elizabeth Usher & Francis Usher & their heirs . . . . Jonathan Dowse Esq. Col. Frost. Charlestown. Jon^a^ Armington. Cambridge, I appoint Overseers of this my Will & Testament and give to said Overseers five pounds each desiring said Overseers to be ordering & assisting my Executors in this my Will and in case any dispute or difference happen relating to my Estate of whatever kind or nature so ever by any person. Then I doe give full favor & authority to my Overseers or major part of them to have and make a full issue of all such differences and disputes y^t^ may arise. whose determination under their hands or major part of them shall be binding & decisive & if any persons rest not Satisfied with their determination as aforesaid then I doe make null & void any legacy bequeathed in this my Will.

My negro servant . . . & my Indian servant Rose . . . & Jack of them, always been faithful servants desire as long as they live special and due care for cloathing, provisions & subsistence for each of them, both in sickness or health as long as they do live

I doe again hereby declare this to be my last Will & Testament and doe revoake all other Will & Testaments.

In Witness whereof I do by these presents set to my hand & seal the day and year above written

Witnesses . . .

Midd^x^ p Cambridge Oct. 16, 1728

The Rev^d^ John Usher exhibited the before written & made oath that he Knows of no other writing left by y^e^ Hon^ble^ John Usher Esqr

late of Charlestown dec^{d} whereby he made or designed to make any disposition of his Estate.

Jon^{a} Remington J Pro^{b}

The result of this appeal was, as we have seen, unfavorable to Allen and the verdict in the court below was affirmed.

Search in the York Registry of Deeds discloses several further steps that are interesting in this connection before the final abandonment of their claims by this family.

In 1687, Eliakim Hutchinson, a prominent and influential merchant and mill-owner, recognized the over-lordship of Robert Tufton Mason and conceded the validity of the title to these lands, that was afterwards successfully contested in the above lawsuit, under the Gorges' deed above cited and by special reference thereto,[1] by paying sixty pounds down in satisfaction for all past rents and covenanting to pay an annual quit-rent of forty shillings for five hundred acres on both sides the Little Newichewannock River.

By thus uniting the adverse claims of the Masonian proprietors and those derived from the town of Kittery through the leaders an indisputable title was perfected under which these lands have passed and are held to-day.[2]

It would seem that Allen borrowed a part of the purchase consideration from his son-in-law John Usher, and on the fourteenth October, 1701, mortgaged New

[1] York Reg. IV., 156. This reference shows the necessity for printing the Gorges deed in Book II., Int. pp. 39-42.

[2] See York Reg. I., i, 174 and III., 132.

Hampshire, Masonia and the Newichewannock tract to Usher to secure the repayment of £1500, and other advances.[1] September 1, 1713, the debt then amounting to £4145: 2: 10, Usher made entry for the purpose of foreclosure upon the Sagadahock tract[2] and immediately after upon the Newichewannock tract at Berwick.[3]

Disheartened by repeated adverse decisions, and despairing of ever realizing upon investments that had been entered with mistaken speculative zeal, Ex-Lieut-Governor Usher in his will dated April 28, 1725, makes no bequests of his acquired rights to the above territories in Maine, but could not refrain from this bitter allusion to his unhappy experience: —

Item: I give to Eliz[a] Usher, my wife daghter to S[r] Allen Esq[r] deceased One thousand Achrees Land in Town Ship Hampton called bi the name Boares Head surveyed & laid out by one Godsoe for Jn[o] Usher Witness Col Sidrach Waltons deed drawn by Charles Story Secretary. S. Allen dying before effected possession taken by Jn[o] Usher and sent on record Portsmouth S[r] Allen Esq kept out possession Lands in Mason's pattent grant as Legall Proprietor as on record & many hundred pounds for support aud subsistance of s[d] Allen's family for which never charged one penny.[4]

Boston, Mar. 24, '87.

2 Ct House

Dear Sir: — The entire record is contained in our bound volumes.

The disposition:

Jury "find for appellee." Confirmation of former Judgment and Cost of Suits.

It is therefore considered by the Ct that s[d] H. S. shall recover of s[d] S. A. costs of Suits.

[1] York Reg. VIII., 2. [2] Id. VIII., 3. [3] Id. VIII., 11.

[4] MS. copy from Middlesex County files.

Appelle prays an appeal to the Queen in Council — and the Ct is of opinion that an appeal doth not lie in this case.

Sup. Ct of Judci. Nov. 7, 1704

Among "Early Ct files" are the following papers:

Reasons of Appeal
of S. A.—
Answer
of Spencer.
both originals.

Very truly yours,

JOHN NOBLE.

THE ROGERS FAMILY OF GEORGETOWN.

BY JOSIAH H. DRUMMOND.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, October 29, 1896.

[CONCLUDED.]

8.

IV. GEORGE ROGERS[3] (*William*,[2] *George*[1]) was born in or near Londonderry, New Hampshire, in 1729; he married in 1751 (published July 13, 1751, as George Rogers, Jr.), Margaret Campbell, daughter of Alexander and Frances [Drummond] Campbell; she died about 1759; and he married in 1762 (published in North Yarmouth, January 23, 1762, and in Georgetown, January, 29, 1762), Alice [Phinney] Means, whose first husband, Major Means, was murdered by the Indians in her presence, in 1756; in 1765, George Rogers had moved to North Yarmouth, now Freeport, where he died November 27, 1818, and she, February 28, 1807.

Children by first wife, born in Georgetown: —

52. Dinah[4], b. July 29, 1752; m. Joseph Skolfield; no children.
53. Alexander[4], b. Jan'y 23, 1754; m. Margaret [Wilson] Hunter.
54. William[4], b. Aug. 15, 1755; died unmarried.
55. James[4], b. July 6, 1757; m. (1) Mary Mustard; (2) Lydia Thompson; (3) Mary Ridley.

Children by second wife, born in North Yarmouth, now Freeport: —

56. George[4], b. Jan. 24, 1765; m. Rachel Pennell.
57. Agnes[4], bap. May 17, 1767; m. Philip Stanwood, Dec. 27, 1787.

There was another James Rogers in Lisbon, contemporary with *James*[4]; each had wife Mary; the wives died about the same time; and each James married a second wife, Lydia, about the same time; these curious coincidences made it difficult to trace the history of James.[4]

9.

IV. Thomas Rogers[3] (*William*,[2] *George*[1]) was born at or near Londonderry, New Hampshire, in 1731; married Hannah Laha; died November 28, 1816.

Children, born in Georgetown: —

58. Samuel Laha[4], b.——; m. Caroline Hopkins.
59. William[4], b.——; d. young; accidentally killed.
60. Elizabeth[4], b.——; m. James Cushing of Phipsburg.
61. Hannah[4], b.——; m. Isaac Corbett of Brunswick.
62. Margaret[4], b.——; m. John Barton.
63. Nancy[4], b.——; m. Brooks McKenney.

10.

IV. JENNY ROGERS[3] (*William*,[2] *George*[1]) was born in Londonderry, New Hampshire, June 25, 1733; she married Benjamin Kendall, son of Ralph M. Kendall, born September, 1732; he died February 28, 1805, and she, April 1, 1808.

Children, the first two born in Georgetown, and the others in Dresden:—

64. Abigail Kendall[4], b. June 9, 1758.
65. William Kendall[4], b. Nov. 19, 1759.
66. Benjamin Kendall[4], b.——
67. Annie Kendall[4], b.——
68. John Kendall[4], b.——
69. Hugh Rogers Kendall[4], b.——
70. Thomas Kendall[4], b.——
71. Fanny Kendall[4], b.——
72. Robert Rogers Kendall[4], b. Mar. 21, 1773.

11.

IV. HUGH ROGERS[3] (*William*,[2] *George*[1]) was born in Londonderry, New Hampshire, in 1736; he married Hannah Hallowell, daughter of Samuel Hallowell of Boston born in 1736; she died February 3, 1789, and he married August 10, 1790, Margaret (Beath) Wylye; he died January 20, 1804 [1802], and she, March 8, 1836, aged ninety-one years.

Children (by first wife), born in Georgetown:—

73. William[4], b. Dec. 30, 1770; d, Mar. 2, 1778.
74. Hannah Hallowell[4], b. Dec. 23, 1773.
75. Samuel Hallowell[4], b. June 11, 1776.

Hannah Hallowell[4] married in 1799 (published April 4, 1799) John Grace; no children.

V. *Samuel Hallowell Rogers*[4] married (published November 14, 1799) Martha Wyleye and had, born in Phipsburg:—

Samuel Wyleye[5], b. May 4, 1802; m. Lucinda Owen.
Nancy[5], b. Dec. 15, 1803.
Hugh[5], b. April 7, 1805.
Alexander[5], b. Mar. 28, 1807.
Eveline[5], b. Jan. 29, 1809.
Margaret[5], b. Aug. 10, 1810.
Hallowell[5], b. Aug. 22, 1812.
Martha[5], b. July 15, 1814.
Mary Elizabeth[5], b. Mar. 27, 1816; m. John B. Dickinson.

His wife died October 5, 1826 and in May, 1827, he married Elcy Donnell and they had:—

Susan Rebecca[5], b. Feb. 29, 1828; m. Henry Cutting.
Hester Ann[5], b. Feb. 15, 1830; m. Hiram Coombs.
William Albert Church[5], b. May, 11, 1837; m. Martha Ann Cutting.

He died May 14, 1849, and she, August 16, 1854, aged sixty-two.

Samuel Wyleye[5] was adopted by his aunt, Hannah Hallowell [Rogers] Grace and her husband, John Grace.

12.

IV. Margaret Rogers,[3] (*William*,[2] *George*[1]) was born in Georgetown, February 9, 1738; she married (published March 3, 1764) Rev. John Miller of Brunswick, who died in 1788; they had children, but I have been unable to get an account of them.

13.

IV. Ann Rogers[3] (*William*,[2] *George*[1]) was born in Georgetown, May 6, 1741; she married in 1759 (published June 2, 1759) David Reed.

Children, born in Topsham: —

76. Deina Reed[4], b. July 2, 1760.
77. Mary Reed[4], b. July 8, 1762.
78. Margaret Reed[4], b. Aug. 20, 1764.
79. Anna Reed[4], b. July 22, 1766.
80. David Reed[4], b. Mar. 7, 1769.

It is stated in the History of Brunswick that this family "moved West:" but among the published "intentions of marriage" in Topsham are the following:—

Nicholas Gauber and Diana Reed, July 7, 1779.
David Reed and Jenny Reed, Jan. 3, 1795.
David Reed and Elizabeth Kendall, Sept. 30, 1796.

Among the marriages recorded in Topsham, are: —

Nathaniel Hinkley and Mary Reed, June 15, 1781.
Robert Jack and Diana Reed, April — 1782.

While there were other Reed families in town, it is quite certain that some of these were from David's family.

14.

IV. William Rogers[3] (*William*,[2] *George*[1]) was born in Georgetown, October 11, 1743; he married March 25, 1776, Eleanor Stanwood, daughter of Samuel and Jean [Lithgow] Stanwood, born July 20, 1758; he died January 19, 1791.

Child born in Brunswick: —

81. Peggy Miller[4], b. Feb. 26, 1778.

His widow married February 8, 1798, Maj. Thomas Means, by whom she had one son, who died unmarried; she died February 9, 1837.

V. *Peggy Miller Rogers*[4] married May 25, 1797, her cousin, *Robert Rogers Kendall*; he died May 25, 1858, and she, January 24, 1860.

Children, born in Freeport: —

William Rogers Kendall[5], b. Aug. 18, 1799; m. Minerva Converse.

Horatio Gates Kendall[5], b. Nov. 14, 1801; m. Sophia M. Pote.

Robert Pope Kendall[5], b. Dec. 13, 1807; m. Sophia W. Wilson.

Eleanor Jane Kendall[5], b. July 15, 1810; m. William Pote.

Nathan Nye Kendall[5], b. Jan. 20, 1813; m. Jane S. Williams.

Juliet Margaret Kendall[5], b. Aug. 26, 1816; m. Jeremiah Moore.

15.

IV. John Rogers[3] (*William*,[2] *George*[1]), was born in Georgetown, June 20, 1746; he moved to Topsham about the time he reached his majority and married there July 29, 1771, Jane Potter, daughter of Alexander, born December 11, 1743; he died October 19, 1832, and she, June 13, 1828.

Children, born in Topsham: —

82. John[4], b. Aug. 30, 1771.
83. William[4], b. June 2, 1773.
84. Jenny[4], b. Nov. 15, 1775.
85. Alexander[4], b. Mar. 13, 1778.
86. Dinah[4], b. April 1, 1781.
87. Hugh[4], b. Feb. 9, 1785.

Will of John Rogers of Topsham (dated July 20, 1813 (?), proved August 26, 1833), "advanced in years," mentions wife Jean, eldest son John, second

son William, daughter Jean Laberee, son Alexander, daughter Dinah Houghton, and son Hugh.

V. *John Rogers*[4] married August 29, 1799, Susannah Patten, born May 15, 1774; he died June 14, 1849, and she, January 22, 1860; they had born in Topsham: —

Susanna[5], b. Jan'y 19, 1803.
Margaret[5], b. Sept. 2, 1804.
Robert Patten[5], b. July 8, 1806.
Rankin[5], b. May 31, 1808.
John[5], b. Oct. 6, 1809.
Maria[5], b. July 19, 1811; d. Oct. 24, 1813.
Rebecca[5], b. May 23, 1813.
Maria[5], b. April 13, 1815.

V. *William Rogers*[4] married (published in Brunswick, January 13, 1799, and in Topsham, December 2, 1799 Martha Dunning; he died July 10, 1857, and she, July 5, 1858; they had, born in Topsham: —

William[5], b. April 28, 1805.
Cassandana[5], b. Dec. 3, 1807.
Mary Dunning[5], b. Dec. 30, 1808.
Jane[5], b. Sept. 27, 1810.
Sarah Potter[5], b. Feb. 14, 1812.
John D.[5], b. ——; d. Dec. 30, 1820, in New Orleans.

V. *Jenny Rogers*[4] married September 24, 1797, Ephraim Larrabee, and they had born in Brunswick: —

John Rogers Larrabee[5], b. Feb. 1, 1798.
Nehemiah Larrabee[5], b. Dec. 25, 1799.
Daniel Larrabee[5], b. May 26, 1804.
Benjamin Larrabee[5], b. April 13, 1809.
Ephraim Larrabee[5], b. June 15, 1811.
Samuel Larrabee[5], b. June 5, 1814.
Frances Jane Larrabee[5], b, June 24, 1819.

V. *Alexander Rogers*[4] married May 18, 1800, Hannah Larrabee of Brunswick, and they had, born in Brunswick: —

Nehemiah[5], b. April 30, 1802.
Jenny[6], b. Feb. 16, 1804.
Nelson[5], b. Dec. 24, 1805.

V. *Dinah Rogers*[4] married (published January 12, 1812, and certificate issued March 3, 1812) Nahum Houghton; she died May 20, 1826; they had, born in Brunswick: —

Eliza J. Houghton[5], b. July 3, 1813.
John Rogers Houghton[5], b. Mar. 31, 1815.
Harriet N. Houghton[5], b. Oct. 10, 1817.
William H. Hougton[5], b. Nov. 9, 1819.
George W. Houghton[5], b. Sept. 20, 1822.
Benjamin F. Houghton[5], b. Dec. 25, 1825.

V. *Hugh Rogers*[4] married August 18, 1814, in Bowdoinham, Isabella Owen, born May 30, 1793; he died April 30, 1867; they had, born in Topsham: —

Julia Henry[5], b. April 5, 1815.
Almira[5], b. Dec. 23, 1816.
Martha[5], b. Jan. 23, 1819; m. Richard Owen.
Lucy Hunter[5], b. June 25, 1821; m. Samuel W. Foote.
Eliza[5], b. July 6, 1823.
Thomas[5], b. July 31, 1826.
Isabella[5], b. July 29, 1830.
Lucinda[5], b. Feb. 19, 1834.

16.

IV. Robert Rogers[3] (*William*,[2] *George*[1]) was born in Georgetown, April 10, 1752; he married, March 21, 1775 (by Rev. Jacob Bailey) Jane Grace, daughter of James and Jane [Kneely] Grace and granddaughter

of Alexander Drummond, the immigrant; he died January 9, 1815, and she, September 2, 1825.

Children, born in Georgetown: —

88. Thomas Grace[4], b. July 12, 1775; m. Martha Hunt.
89. George[4], b. Feb. 23, 1777; d. Dec. 24, 1799.
90. William[4], b. Mar. 1779; d. young unm.
91. Frances[4], b. Feb. 17, 1781; m. (1) John Rook; (2) Thomas Kelley.
92. James Grace[4], b. June 12, 1783; m. Ann [Nancy] Rogers of Bristol.
93. Ruth[4], b. Oct. 26, 1785; m. John Kelley.
94. Ann Allen[4], b. Mar. 25, 1787; m. Ballard Bartlett.
95. Jane Grace[4], b. July 18, 1790; m. Spencer Dingley.
96. Nancy[4], b. Jan. 9, 1794; m. Benjamin Foster.
97. Margaret[4], b. May 16, 8796; m. James Crawford.

17.

IV. Isabella Rogers[3] (*George*,[2] *George*[1]) was born in Georgetown, August 12, 1743; she married, November 19, 1761, Samuel Parsons of the Isle of Shoals.

Children, born in Georgetown: —

98. John Parsons[4], b. June 8, 1762; m. Rebecca Lee.
99. Mary Parsons[4], b. April 4, 1765.
100. Samuel Parsons[4], b. June 17, 1767; d. in 1796.
101. George Rogers Parsons[4], b. April 17, 1770; d. young.

One of the younger sons, probably Samuel, went to sea and the vessel was never heard from; administration on estate of Samuel Parsons late of Georgetown, mariner, was granted to John Parsons, June 1, 1796.

Samuel Parsons, Sr., died in 1770, and his widow married, February 16, 1772, Samuel Manson of Kittery; she died May 4, 1803 and he married her sister Jane.

Children, born in Georgetown : —

102. Robert Parker Manson[4], b. Dec. 20, 1773.
103. David Manson[4], b.——
104. William Manson[4], b.——
105. Nancy Manson[4], b.——; m. Ezekiel Benson.
106. Isabel Manson[4], b.——

In Maj. Denny's record of the publishment of Samuel Parsons and "Isabellah Rodgers," he adds : —

Forbidden by the girls farther. Aug. 24, Published out and sirtificate given.

18.

IV. John Rogers[3] (*George*,[2] *George*[1]) was born in Georgetown, now Phipsburg, April 20, 1745; he married Ann Cochrane; she died February 12, 1780, and he married Ann Crombie, said to be the cousin of his first wife; and both wives are said to have been from Derry (old), New Hampshire; he died December 18, 1829, and his second wife, November 10, 1817.

Children, born in Georgetown, now Phipsburg : —

107. William[4], b. 1770; d. unm. Dec. 9, 1794.
108. George[4], b. June 22, 1772; unm.
109. Ann[4], b. 1774; m. Robert Moor; d. Feb. 6, 1855.
110. James Cochran[4], b. 1776; m. Hannah Parker[4]; d. Feb. 18, 1853.
111. David[4], b. 1778; d. unm. Sept. 25, 1854.
112. Fanny[4], b. 1780; d. 1792.

V. *George Rogers*[4] married, November 29, 1803, *Beatrice Mains*,[4] he died July 29, 1841, and she, March 29, 1846.

They had, born in Phipsburg : —

Ann[5], b. Sept. 2, 1804; m. William Paine.
Eliza[5], b. June 15, 1807; d. unm. Feb. 12, 1865.

John[5], b. April 4, 1809; m. Merinda H. Bond.
Emily[5], b. Mar. 21, 1811; d. unm.
Mary Frances[5], b. May 10, 1814; m. Jacob Knowlton.
Sarah[5], b. Jan. 13, 1817; d. unm.
Abigail[5], b. Oct. 31, 1819; m. Alfred Lee.
Lydia Maria[5], b. Oct. 11, 1822; m. Fred. S. Parks.

19.

IV. Mary Rogers[3] (*George,*[2] *George*[1]) was born in Georgetown, March 30, 1747; she married, June 13, 1765, Dominicus Jordan Parker (usually called Jordan Parker), son of Jacob and Mary [Jordan] Parker, and grandson of Dominicus Jordan; he died December 29, 1822.

Children born in Georgetown, now Phipsburg: —

113. Ann Parker[4], b. June 10, 1766; m. Jordan Snipe.
114. Mary Parker[4], b. May 1, 1768; m. John Drummond.
115. John Parker[4], b. Sept. 15, 1770; m. Susannah Drummond.
116. Margaret Parker[4], b. Nov. 27, 1772; m. Thomas Percy.
117. Sarah Parker[4], b. Feb. 22, 1775; d. unmarried.
118. Jacob Parker[4], b. Oct. 17, 1777; d. unm., Jan. 25, 1826.
119. Elizabeth Parker[4], b. Jan. 17, 1780; d. Oct. 5, 1821, unmarried.
120. Frances Parker[4], b. July 21, 1782; m. Patrick Campbell.
121. Jane Parker[4], b. May 3, 1785; d. Dec. 23, 1806; unmarried.
122. Susanna Parker[4], b. May 3, 1788; m. George Oliver.
123. Harriet Parker[4], b. Jan. 30, 1792; d. Dec. 18, 1875; unmarried.

23.

IV. Ann [Nancy] Rogers[3] (*George,*[2] *George*[1]) was born in Georgetown, now Phipsburg, April 15,

1757; she married (1) —— Reed; (2) Hugh White, son of Hugh, born September 2, 1749; (3) November 16, 1800, as his second wife, William Stinson; he died November 1, 1820, and she, July 18, 1832.

Children, born in Georgetown: —

By first husband: —

124. Beatrice Reed[4], b. ——; [given name not certain].

By second husband: —

125. George White[4], b. ——.
126. Sally White[4], b. ——; m. a Mr. Ferris in New York.
127. Nancy White[4], b. Nov. 23, 1782.
128. Jane White[4], b. ——; m. Ezekiel Drummond.
129. Margaret White[4], b. ——.

By third husband: —

130. Alfred Stinson[4], b. Sept. 24, 1801; d. Sept. 2, 1825.

George White[4] went South; after a time his letters ceased and he never was heard from afterwards.

William Stinson's children by his first wife, were: —

William, b. May 14, 1774.
Anne, b. June 18, 1777.
Rachel, b. April 18, 1779; d. Nov., 1801.
John, b. April 27, 1784.
Susannah, b. June 20, 1789.

V. *Nancy White*[4] married March 20, 1801, Stephen Benson, son of Stephen and Mary [Holbrook] Benson, born in Mendon, Massachusetts, September 16, 1777; he died September 19, 1821, in Marcellus (now Skaneateles), New York, and she married, in 1841, his brother, Nathan Benson; she died December 20, 1849.

Children, the first two born in Georgetown, and the others, in Marcellus, New York: —

Frederic Benson [5], b. Sept. 20, 1803.
Mary Ann Benson [5], b. July 17, 1804.
Louisa Benson [5], b. Nov. 12, 1806; d. Mar. 1, 1824.
Adaline Benson [5], b. June 16, 1810.
Ezekiel Benson [5], b. Sept. 18, 1813; d. unm.
Cornelia Hall Benson [5], b. March 30, 1816.

Stephen Benson and his brother, Ezekiel, who married Nancy Manson, came to Georgetown, from Mendon, when quite young; their father bought a large tract of land in Marcellus, New York, and moved there with the rest of his family, and in 1805, they followed him.

V. *Margaret White* [4] married Eusebius Oliver, and they had born in Georgetown: —

Milenda Ann Oliver [5], b. Feb. 27, 1818; d. Dec. 21, 1820.
Moses Coombs Oliver [5], b. Jan. 25, 1820.
Frances Ann Oliver [5], b. April 22, 1822.
Harriet Parker Oliver [5], b. Nov. 18, 1824.
James Drummond Oliver [5], b. Aug. 31, 1829.
Baxter Scott Oliver [5], b. Jan. 23, 1832.
Emma Jane Oliver [5], b. Sept. 25, 1834.

24.

IV. Margaret Rogers [3] (*George,* [2] *George* [1]) was born in Georgetown, now Phipsburg, August 25, 1759; she married, July 8, 1779, Thomas Butler; he died February 18, 1819, and she, August 12, 1852.

Children, born in Georgetown, now Phipsburg: —

131. William Butler [4], b. April 22, 1780; d. unm., Oct. 7, 1802.
132. George Butler [4], b. July 6, 1782; m. Polly Linnen.
133. Thomas Butler [4], b. June 17, 1784; m. Phebe Winslow.
134. Abigail Butler [4], b. Oct. 22, 1786; d. Oct. 17, 1805.

135. John Butler [4], b. March 31, 1788; m. Agnes C. Pattee.
136. James Butler [4], b. Nov. 29, 1790; m. Margaret Webber.
137. Ann Butler [4], b. Dec. 31, 1795; m. Walker Getchell.
138. Martha Butler [4], b. Dec. 13, 1797; m. Capt. Small.
139. Margaret Butler [4], b. Oct. 5, 1801; m. William Drummond Davis.

[*William Butler*, brother of Thomas, married Martha Snipe, August 12, 1787; she died October 27, 1826.

Abigail Butler, sister of Thomas, married, May 15, 1792, Capt. John White, as his third wife.]

25.

IV. Alexander Rogers [3] (*George*,[2] *George* [1]) was born in Georgetown, October 16, 1761; he married, February 14, 1799, Catharine Smart of Georgetown, born January 15, 1773; he died February 12, 1839, and she, October 17, 1826.

Children, born in Georgetown, now Phipsburg: —

140. Ann Ferguson [4], b. March 7, 1801; m. Thomas Heald.
141. Olive Smart [4], b. July 29, 1803.
142. Alexander [4], b. Jan. 6, 1807; d. unm., Oct. 26, 1864.
143. Adeline [4], b. May 20, 1809; m. Dominicus P. Campbell.
144. Sally [4], b. Oct. 6, 1811; m. Ebenezer Rowe.
145. Mary [4], b. May 15, 1814; m. Thomas McKenney.
146. M. Catharine [4], b. Jan. 19, 1817; m. Robert Campbell.

26.

IV. Beatrice Rogers [3] (*George*,[2] *George* [1]) [but also called Beteridge, and in the old people's record called Elizabeth), was born in Georgetown, now Phipsburg, February 27, 1764; she married a Shepard and moved to Massachusetts, and I have not traced their family.

27.

IV. William Rogers[3] (*George*,[2] *George*[1]) was born in Georgetown, now Phipsburg, July 3, 1766; he married, February 25, 1796, Mrs. Ruth [Winslow] Hinckley.

Children, born in Georgetown, now Phipsburg: —

147. Ferguson[4], b. ——; m. Ruby Oliver.
148. James[4], b. May 31, 1803; m. Sarah Ann Morse.
149. Nancy[4], b. ——; m. Thomas Oliver.
150. William[4], b. ——; m. Sarah Ann Clifford.

28.

IV. Jane Rogers[3] (*George*,[2] *George*[1]) was born in Georgetown, August 17, 1768; she married, November 20, 1804, Samuel Manson; he died December 23, 1826, and she, April 19, 1819. She was his second wife, her sister Isabella having been his first. See No. 17.

Children born in Georgetown: —

151. Mary Parker Manson[4], b. Nov. 26, 1805; m. Baxter Scott.
152. Samuel Manson[4], b. Nov. 21, 1807; m. Octavia Jane Potter.
153. George Ferguson Manson[4], b. June, 1809.

29.

IV. George Rogers[3] (*George*,[2] *George*[1]) was born in Georgetown, now Phipsburg, December 21, 1770; he married [published May 10, 1802] Martha Wyman; he lived at Indian Point till his children grew up and then moved to Phipsburg, where he died, January 13, 1839.

Children born in Georgetown : —

154. Sarah[4], b. Oct. 17, 1803 ; m. Edward Percy.
155. George[4], b. March 12, 1806.
156. Martha C.[4], b. July 29, 1810 ; unm.
157. Nathaniel Wyman[4], b. May 10, 1813 ; d. young.

30.

IV. Francis Rogers[3] (*George*,[2] *George*[1]) was born in Georgetown, February 11, 1773 ; he married, May 11, 1796, Susanna Campbell, daughter of John and Nancy [Drummond] Campbell, born July 20, 1777 ; he died March 10, 1837, and she, February 20, 1852.

Children born in Georgetown : —

158. Levi[4], b. April 30, 1797 ; d. unm., March, 1819.
159. John Campbell[4], b. April 4, 1799 ; m. Abigail Stinson.
160. Susanna[4], b. July 2, 1801 ; m. David Oliver.
161. Nancy Campbell[4], b. Sept. 1, 1806 ; m. Henry Lawrence.
162. Cordelia[4], b. July 19, 1809 ; d. Feb. 4, 1830.
163. Harriot[4], b. May 9, 1812 ; d. May 26, 1819.
164. Robert[4], b. March 14, 1815 ; d. July 19, 1815.
165. Francis[4], b. Sept. 19, 1816 ; d. Sept. 29, 1816.
166. Francis[4], b. Sept. 21, 1817 ; m. Susanna Rowe.
167. Frederick[4], b. Feb. 1, 1821 ; m. Margaret E. Hinckley.

31.

IV. Nathaniel Rogers[3] (*George*,[2] *George*[1]) was born in Georgetown, July 28, 1776 ; he married, February 4, 1808, Nancy Campbell, daughter of John and Nancy [Drummond] Campbell, born February 26, 1786 ; he died March 12, 1865, and she, March 14, 1865 ; both buried in one grave.

Children, born in Georgetown : —

168. Louisa Jane [4], b. Sept. 19, 1808 ; m. Robert P. Manson.[4]
169. Lettice [4], b. Sept. 21, 1810 ; d. unm.
170. Drummond [4], b. March 26, 1813 ; d. unm., May 15, 1839.
171. Elijah [4], b. Oct. 27, 1816 ; d. unm., in 1891.
172. Ann Maria [4], b. Aug. 15, 1818 ; m. John Moulton.
173. Levi [4], b. Dec. 12, 1821 ; d. unm., April 4, 1867.

The town record has,

Campbell, b. Dec. 27, 1815,

and does not have Elijah ; his name was probably Elijah Campbell Rogers.

33.

IV. George Rogers [3] (*Patrick*,[2] *George* [1]) was born in Bristol ; he married, November, 1766, Hannah Nickels, daughter of Alexander and Margaret [—?—] Nickels. I have not traced their family. They undoubtedly had a son, who married Frances, the daughter of David Allen, moved to New London, Connecticut, and was the father of the " children of Frances Rogers " mentioned in the will of Anna Allen. They also had a daughter Ann [Nancy], who married James Grace Rogers—see No. 92 ; and probably other children.

34.

IV. Frances Rogers [3] (*Patrick*,[2] *George* [1]) married James Huston, son of James and Mary [Sloss] Huston. She died in her father's lifetime, leaving children whose names I have not ascertained.

35.

IV. Jane Rogers[3] (*Patrick*,[2] *George*[1]) married Edward Young, who, at the date of her father's will, had died leaving her a widow.

40.

IV. Isabella Allen[3] (*Frances*,[2] *George*[1]) was born in Bristol; she married —— Allen Malcolm of Newcastle, and had children.

173a. Francis Malcolm[4], b. ——.
173b. Allen Malcolm[4], ——.

The dates of the deaths of her husband and herself are unknown; but she was living in 1798 and had died in 1812.

41.

IV. Thomas Allen[3] (*Frances*,[2] *George*[1]) was born in Bristol; he lived in Boston; was a master mariner; he disappeared from all records so far as known about 1769; he was probably lost at sea, dying unmarried; his mother in her will dated in 1788, mentions her "son, Thomas Allen's heirs," but evidently the legacy was never claimed, and no further mention of him is made.

In 1768, Capt. James Patterson sailed from Boston "for the Eastward," in command of a vessel, which was wrecked at Meduncook, and all on board lost. Mary Crowell, Jr., testified that Capt. Patterson was at her mother's house the night before sailing, and she saw Ralph Chapman, with the assistance of *Capt. Thomas Allen*, put goods in boxes to be taken on the vessel. W. D. Patterson's Notes.

It has been suggested that Capt. Allen was on board the vessel and was lost; but, unless there was an error in the date, the suggestion is erroneous, for on June 10, 1769, Thomas Allen, of Boston, mortgaged land in Sheepscot, his mother, Frances Allen, widow, joining with him to release dower; both acknowledged the deeds in Boston. Lincoln, Book VIII, page 120.

41b.

IV. David Allen[3] (*Frances*,[2] *George*[1]) was born in Bristol (at Pemaquid) in 1734; he was lost at sea in 1761; no record of his marriage is found, and the name of his wife is not known; but his mother's and sister's wills shows that he had a daughter,

173c. Frances Allen[4], b. ——.

As already stated she married a Rogers and moved to New Haven, Connecticut.

43.

IV. Isabella McCobb[3] (*Beatrice*,[2] *George*[1]) was born in Georgetown, now Phipsburg, March 21, 1739, old style; she married, March 12, 1761, Jacob Parker, son of Jacob and Mary [Jordan] Parker, and grandson of Dominicus and Joanna [Bray] Jordan; she died in October, 1813; he was drowned at a date I have been unable to obtain.

Children, born in Georgetown, now Phipsburg: —

174. Mary Parker[4], b. Sept. 12, 1762; m. Patrick Drummond.
175. Betsey Parker[4], b. March 21, 1764; m. John Foye.
176. Margaret Parker[4], b. Aug. 11, 1766; m. Robert Powers.

177. Frances Parker [4], b. Dec. 29, 1768; m. Alexander Drummond.
178. Isabella Parker [4], b. Nov. 28, 1770; d. unm., July 25, 1819.[1]
179. Nancy Parker [4], b. Feb. 21, 1772; m. John Swett.
180. Sally Parker [4], b. Oct. 3, 1773; d. unm.
181. Jacob Parker [4], b. March 7, 1775; d. unm.
182. Hannah Parker [4], b. May 26, 1776; m. James Rogers.
183. Rachel Parker [4], b. March 7, 1778; m. John Preble.
184. Jane Parker [4], b. Nov. 4, 1780; m. Richard Morse.

In the town records, "*Betsey*" is given as "Beatrice" for which "Betsey," "Betridge," and "Bettress" were then used.

45.

IV. Gen. Samuel McCobb [3] (*Beatrice*,[2] *George*[1]) was born in Georgetown, November 20, 1744; he married, February 18, 1768, Rachel Denny, daughter of Major Samuel and Mrs. Rachel [Loring] [White] Denny born June 23, 1752; he died July 30, 1791, and she, September 18, 1825.

Children, born in Georgetown, now Arrowsic: —

185. Denny McCobb [4], b. Feb. 13, 1770; m., Nov. 18, 1798, Hannah Crooker; d. June 30, 1849.
186. Beatrice McCobb [4], b. Oct. 1, 1772.
187. Rachel Loring McCobb [4], b. June 24, 1774; m. Joseph Trott; d. Sept. 12, 1852.
188. Nancy McCobb [4], b. Feb. 6, 1777; m., Aug. 17, 1797, Dea. Nicholas Loring Mitchell; d. in 1852.
189. John McCobb [4], b. Feb. 9, 1779; m., June 18, 1802, Sarah Watson; d. June, 1848.
190. Jane McCobb [4], b. April 6, 1781; m., May 19, 1799, Francis Winter Crooker; d. Dec. 15, 1819.

[1] Query. William Brown and Isabella Parker were "published," Sept. 20, 1801.

191. Sally McCobb [4], b. May 15, 1783; d. in 1801.
192. Parker McCobb [4], b. March 30, 1785; m., Sept. 17, 1816, Mrs. Rebecca [Hill] McCobb, widow of Thomas; d. Jan. 25, 1847.

V. *Beatrice McCobb* [4] married, May 12, 1793, Colonel Andrew Reed, born in Boothbay, June 5, 1765; he died January 2, 1848, and she, March 13, 1835; they had, born in Phipsburg: —

John Reed [5], b. May 21, 1794.
Samuel Denny Reed [5], b. Dec. 26, 1795.
Rachel Loring Reed [5], b. Nov. 29, 1797.
William Maxwell Reed [5], b. March 14, 1800.
Albert Reed [5], b. March 27, 1802.
Thomas McCobb Reed [5], b. May 25, 1804.
Andrew Franklin Reed [5], b. Aug. 21, 1806.
Angeline Reed [5], b. Oct. 9, 1808.
Nathaniel Curtis Reed [5], b. March 25, 1811.
Parker McCobb Reed [5], b. April 6, 1813.
Eliza Hannah Reed [5], b. Oct. 31, 1816.

47.

IV. Beatrice McCobb [3] (*Beatrice*, [2] *George* [1]) was born in Georgetown, now Phipsburg, January 13, 1749, old style; she married, December 24, 1772, Joseph Mains of Woolwich; he died in 1790, and she, December 23, 1816.

Children, born in Woolwich: —

193. Susannah Mains [4], b. Aug. 4, 1773; m. William Partridge.
194. Beatrice Mains [4], b. May 3, 1775; d. Dec. 31, 1778.
195. Abigail Mains [4], b. Nov. 22, 1776; d. unm., Nov. 18, 1803.
196. Anna Mains [4], b. Sept. 17, 1779; m. John Reed.
197. Beatrice Mains [4], b. Aug. 16, 1781; m. George Rogers [4] (John [3]).

198. James McCobb Mains[4], b. Jan. 30, 1784; m. Mary Walker of Freeport.

These dates are taken from the town record; it is said that the family record gives 1780 as the year of Anna's birth, and 1782 as that of Beatrice's, and that there was another daughter, Sarah, presumably coming between Abigail and Anna, but I have not been able to verify the statement.

49.

IV. Margaret McCobb[3] (*Beatrice*,[2] *George*[1]) was born in Georgetown, now Phipsburg, January 7, 1754 [January 2, 1755, Town Record]; she married, August 8, 1776, William Lee; she died July 19, 1810, and he married again.

Children born in Georgetown: —

199. Beatrice Lee[4], b. May 19, 1777; m. Samuel Woodward.
200. James Lee[4], b. Feb. 12, 1782; d. unm., Aug. 9, 1807.
201. William Lee[4], b. Sept. 8, 1784; m. Harriet Holland.
202. Nancy Lee[4], b. May 28, 1788; d. unm., March, 1865.
203. John Lee[4], b. March 20, 1795; d. Aug. 29, 1795.

William Lee, Esq., and Mrs. Eleanor Cushing were published October 11, 1811, in Georgetown.

50.

IV. Frances McCobb[3] (*Beatrice*,[2] *George*[1]) was born in Georgetown, now Phipsburg, January 7, 1754; she married, October 30, 1780, Ezekiel Cushing[6] (Loring[5], Col. Ezekiel[4], Rev. Jeremiah[3], Daniel[2], Mathew[1]); he died (dropped dead) February 10, 1825, and she in August, 1811.

Children, the first four born in Bowdoinham, and the other two in Georgetown: —

204. Beatrice Cushing[4], b. May 26, 1782; m. Charles Duly.
205. Frances Cushing[4], b. Feb. 28, 1784; m. Benjamin Garland Perkins.
206. Mary Cushing[4], b. April 4, 1786; m. Matthew McKenney.
207. James Cushing[4], b. May 9, 1788; m. (1) Rachel Duly; (2) Elizabeth Rogers.
208. Thomas Cushing[4], b. April 22, 1790; m. (1), June 3, 1813, Betsey Wyman; (2) Martha Percy; d. at Phipsburg, Feb. 4, 1851.
209. Loring Cushing[4], b. Aug. 22, 1794; m. Rachel Sprague in 1818; moved to Augusta, where he died Jan. 22, 1848.

51.

IV. Ann [Nancy] McCobb[3] (*Beatrice*,[2] *George*[1]) was born in Georgetown, now Phipsburg, April 15, 1756; she married [published December 18, 179?] Levi Leathers.

Children, born in Georgetown, now Phipsburg: —

210. Elizabeth Leathers[4], b. March 22, 1795; m. Nathaniel Sprague.
211. Nancy Leathers[4], b. March 7, 1798; m. Timothy Bachelder.

NOTE.

1. It is quite certain that the "Bettress Reed" mentioned in Anna Allen's will was Bettress [McCobb] Reed, wife of Capt. Andrew, and not the daughter of Ann Rogers, as stated above; each was the daughter of a cousin.

2. Doubt has been expressed whether Frances and Anna Allen lived in Andrew Reed's house; but Parker M. Reed, Esquire, furnishes a statement written by Mrs. David Potter (who went to live with the widow of John Parker in 1800), in substance, that after

Parker took his nephew (Andrew Reed) into his family, he built a large house for Andrew, near the one he then lived in, and reserved two rooms for Mrs. Allen and her daughter.

3. Mr. Reed says further that Rebecca Hill, who married Thomas McCobb, was not the daughter of Jeremiah and Mary [Langdon] [Storer] Hill, but their niece, as he understands; and, moreover, that Rebecca was not born till after James McCobb's third marriage. I supposed I had good authority for my statement, but further examination fails to either verify or disprove Mr. Reed's statement.

HALLOWELL RECORDS.

COMMUNICATED BY DR. W. B. LAPHAM.

[Continued from page 444, Vol. VII.]

William Matthews, son of Elijah Matthews and Hepzibah Brier, his wife, was born in York, November, 1775. Came to reside in this town August, 1789. Married Betsey, daughter of Isaac and Sarah Groves of Exeter, state of New Hampshire. Their children are:—

Sarah, b. Jan. 15, 1796.
Elijah, b. Jan. 23, 1798.
Betsey, b. Sept. 27, 1799; d. Dec., 1804.
William, b. March 4, 1802.
Eliza Ann, b. Feb. 29, 1804.
John, b. Oct. 8, 1806.
Caroline, b. Sept. 11, 1810.
Mary Jane, b. April 30, 1813.

Samuel Smith, son of the above named Samuel and Hannah, married Elizabeth, daughter of Bradley Richards and Judith Kent, his wife. Their children are:—

Emeline, b. July 25, 1813.
Samuel Bradley, b. Feb. 6, 1815.

Hannibal R., b. Feb. 26, 1817.
Elizabeth A., b. July 16, 1819; d. Mar. 20, 1841.
William Henry, b. Dec. 14, 1821.
George Washington, b. May 14, 1824; d. April, 1846.
Ellen Frances, b. June 22, 1826.

Jesse Robinson, son of George Robinson and Zipporah Allen, his wife, was born in Attleborough, Massachusetts, November 22, 1772. Married Sylvina, daughter of David and Elizabeth Gardiner of Pembroke. Came to this town with his family 1803. Their children are : —

Kilborn Gardiner, b. Nov. 2, 1794, in Attleborough.
Sylvina, b. Sept. 19, 1797, in Attleborough; d. Jan. 31, 1805.
Elizabeth, b. March 22, 1800, in Augusta.
Cynthia, b. March 14, 1802, in Turner; d. Jan. 27, 1805.
Jesse D., b. May 8, 1804, in Hallowell.

Mrs. Sylvina Robinson died July 6, 1804, and Mr. Robinson married Sally, daughter of Joseph Lord of Westmoreland, state of New Hampshire, who was then the widow relict of Abel Wheeler. Their children are : —

George Lord, b. Feb. 14, 1806.
Sylvina, b. March 3, 1808.
Gonzalo Chandler, b. July 11, 1812.

George Robinson above mentioned was son of Nathaniel, the son of George, the son of George who emigrated from Great Britain, and all lived and died in Attleborough.

Ebenezer White, son of Benjamin White and Mary Fales his wife, and grandson of Benjamin White of Dedham, was born in Winthrop, October 14, 1789. Came to this town to reside 1809. Married Mary, daughter of John Dugan and Milla Falés his wife, of Walpole. Their children are : —

Sarah Dugan, b. Oct. 30, 1817.
James Augustus, b. May 6, 1819.
Benjamin Franklin, b. Dec. 14, 1821.
Mary Augusta, b. Oct. 18, 1823.
Frances Amelia, b. Oct. 11, 1825.
Charles, b. March 31, 1828.

Montgomery McCausland, son of Andrew McCausland and Kezia Berry, his wife, was born in Litchfield, February 22, 1784. Came to this town with his father's family October, 1789. Married Hannah, daughter of Joseph Woodbury and Deborah Tarbox, his wife, of New Gloucester. Died July 14, 1842. Their children are: —

Mary Jane, b. Jan. 31, 1809.
William, b. Feb. 9, 1811.
Betsey, b. Jan. 2, 1813.
Joseph, b. Jan. 6, 1815.
Isaac, b. March 13, 1817.

Mrs. Hannah McCausland died July 7, 1818, and Mr. McCausland married Sally, the widow relict of Gideon Colcord.

Gideon, b. Dec. 13, 1819.
Samuel, b. March 30, 1821.
Hannah, b. Jan. 27, 1823.
Montgomery, b. Jan. 25, 1825; d. Dec. 13, 1825.
John, b. June 22, 1827.

Samuel Greely, son of Samuel Greely and Mary Leavitt, his wife, was born in Gilmanton, state of New Hampshire, April 18, 1774. Married Nabby, daughter of Ebenezer and Molly Stevens of the same town. Came to this town with his family March, 1797. Their children are: —

Ebenezer, b. Oct. 8, 1797.
Eliza, b. July 5, 1800.
Polly, b. Feb. 17, 1802.
Samuel, b. March 28, 1804.
Isaac, b. May 30, 1806.
Thomas Burns, b. May 22, 1808.
George Washington, b. June 11, 1810.
Ann Maria, b. Aug. 26, 1812.
Abigail, b. March 1, 1815.
John Pitts, b. Feb. 15, 1817.
Ursula Jane, b. Dec. 24, 1819.

Mrs. Greely died May 17, 1847. Mr. Greely died December 25, 1847.

Stephen Hinkley, son of Shubael Hinkley, was born in Georgetown (now Bath), August 27, 1762. Came to this town with his father's family. Married Lucy, daughter of Elisha Nye. Their children are: —

Obed, b. Jan. 18, 1795; d. Nov. 9, 1814.
Lucy, b. April 19, 1798; d. Jan. 5, 1812.
Phebe, b. June 23, 1801.
Robert, Maria, } b. June 25, 1806.
Harriet, b. March 23, 1811.
Caroline, b. July 3, 1815.

Jacob Abbot, son of Jacob Abbot and Lydia Stevens, his wife, was born in Wilton, state of New Hampshire, October 20, 1776. Married, April 8, 1798, Betsey, daughter of Joshua Abbot and Elizabeth Chandler, his wife, who was born in Concord, New Hampshire, Aug. 6, 1773. Came to this town with his family, November 5, 1800. Their children are: —

Sallucia, b. Aug. 7, 1801.
Jacob, b. Nov. 14, 1803.
John Stevens Cabot, b. Sept. 18, 1805, in Brunswick.
Gorham Dummer, b. Sept. 3, 1807, in Brunswick.
Clara Ann, b. Oct. 28, 1809.
Charles Edward, b. Dec. 24, 1811.
Samuel Phillips, b. Dec. 8, 1815.

Daniel Newman, son of Daniel Newman and Polly Warner, his wife, was born in Ipswich, Massachusetts, August 12, 1772. Came to this town July 5, 1797. Married Mary, daughter of John Neal and Abigail Hall, his wife, of Bowdoin. Their children are: —

John, b. Oct. 1, 1805.
Daniel, b. April 3, 1808.
Emily, Emeline, } b. April 26, 1811.
George Henry, b May 8, 1814.

Oliver Wyman, son of Ephraim Wyman and Sarah Richardson, his wife, was born in Woburn, Massachusetts, July 7, 1766. Married Elizabeth, daughter of Jacob Henyan, of the state of New

Jersey. Came to this town with his family, April, 1796. Their children are : —

Oliver, b. Feb. 9, 1791, in Yarmouth.
Jacob, b. May 2, 1793, in Yarmouth.
John, b. Sept. 4, 1795, in Litchfield.
George, b. Feb. 6, 1798, in Hallowell.
William, b. May 10, 1801.
Eliza Ann, b. Dec. 4, 1802.
David, b. Nov. 16, 1804.
Amos, b. Dec. 30, 1807.
Mary Jane, b. April 4, 1810.
Julia Anne, b. Oct. 7, 1812.
Caroline, b. Sept. 22, 1816.

Moses Wing, son of Moses Wing and Polly Chandler, his wife, was born in Wayne, December 6, 1783. Married Clarissa, daughter of Samuel and Lois Spear of Abington, Massachusetts. Came to this town with his family, August 24, 1815. Their children are : —

Samuel Spear, b. April 2, 1809, in Wayne.
Mary Chandler, b. Dec. 2, 1810, in Wayne.
Clarissa Spear, b. July 27, 1812, in Wayne.
Harriet Hilton, b. July 11, 1814, in Wayne.
Charlotte Hobart, b. June 14, 1816, in Hallowell.
Betsey Gower, b. Oct. 15, 1818, in Hallowell.
Sarah Flint, b. July 22, 1821, in Hallowell.
Harriet Spear, b. June 14, 1823, in Hallowell.

William Clark, son of Isaac Clark, married Elizabeth B. Morse, daughter of William Morse. Elizabeth B., wife of William Clark, died in Hallowell, March 15, 1836. William Clark died in Hallowell, May 18, 1855. Their children are : —

William Henry, b. April 6, 1819.
Elizabeth Morse, b. May 5, 1822.
Charlotte Anne, b. Feb. 21, 1825.
Mary Mann, b. March 14, 1835.

Daniel R. Chism, son of John Chism and Catharine Reardon, his wife, was born in Georgetown, District of Maine, January 19, 1784. Came to live in this town 1798. Married Hannah, daughter of

Ezekiel Webber and Hannah Wakefield, his wife, of this town. Their children are : —

Catharine, b. Oct. 15, 1807.
William, b. Jan. 19, 1810.
Caroline, b. Feb. 16, 1815.
Emeline, b. Aug. 12, 1817; d. July 4, 1818.
Emeline, b. July 12, 1819.
Ann Elizabeth, b. Feb. 21, 1822.

Richard Dana, son of Edmund Dana, married Dorcas, daughter of William Mitchell of North Yarmouth, July 14, 1816. Their children are : —

John William, b. April 6, 1818; d. Aug. 31, 1859.
Mary Ann Starr, b. Oct. 2, 1820; d. Sept. 1, 1846.

Benjamin Stickney, son of Benjamin Stickney and Sarah Metcalf, his wife, was born in Rowley, Massachusetts, January 22, 1760. Came to this town 1782. Married Abigail, daughter of David Jackson and Rebecca Wyman, his wife, formerly of Medford, Massachusetts. Their children are : —

David, b. Nov. 23, 1788; d. July 7, 1832.
Sally, b. June 6, 1790; d. Sept. 4, 1827.
Rebecca, b, Nov. 2, 1792.
Benjamin, b. Oct. 25, 1794; d. Aug. 22, 1820.
Samuel, b. July 4, 1797; d. Sept. 17, 1822.
George, b. April 16, 1799.
Owen, b. April 5, 1801; d. Sept. 29, 1802.
Hannah, b. Jan. 21, 1803; d. Oct., 1831.

Mr. Benjamin Stickney died October 5, 1850.

Oliver Talpy, son of Thomas Talpy and Miriam Whitney, his wife, was born in York, District of Maine, November 28, 1789. Came to this town about the year 1804. Married Sarah, daughter of William Matthews. Their children are : —

Mary Ann, b. May 12, 1815; d. Oct. 31, 1840.
William Oliver, b. Jan. 24, 1817.
Sarah, b.
Frances, b.
Caroline, b.
Rufus, b. ——; d. Oct. 16, 1840.

Augusta, b.
John Henry, b.

James M. Ingraham, son of Joseph Holt Ingraham and Migail Milk, his wife, was born in Falmouth (now Portland), January 6, 1781. Married Elizabeth, daughter of Benjamin Thurstin and Sarah Phillips, his wife, who was born June 23, 1787. Came to this town June 27, 1813. Their children are: —

James Milk, b. Oct. 13, 1805.
Elizabeth Thurstin, b. March 8, 1807; d. Feb. 10, 1809.
Joseph Holt, b. Jan. 26, 1809.
Benjamin Thurstin, b. March 9, 1811.
Elizabeth Thurstin, b. March 23, 1813.
Caroline Potter, b. Dec. 19, 1815, in Hallowell.
John Phillips Thurstin, b. August 29, 1817.
Charles B., b. Sept. 18, 1820.
Julia Ann, b. Oct. 14, 1824.

Samuel Crummett, son of Samuel Crummett and Elizabeth Willey, his wife, was born in Durham, State of New Hampshire, August 7, 1774. Married Nancy, daughter of Abel Lethers and Mary Hall, his wife. Came to this town March 31, 1812. Their children are: —

Robert, b. April 16, 1798.
Mary, b. ——; d.
Joseph, b. Jan. 28, 1804.
Sally, b. Nov. 17, 1806.
Eliza, b. Oct. 25, 1808; d. Sept. 22, 1819.
Samuel, b. Aug. 10, 1812.
James, b. July 5, 1814.
Mary, b. June 10, 1818.

Thomas Stickney, son of Benjamin Stickney and Sarah Metcalf, his wife, was born in Rowley, February 2, 1763. Married Dolly, daughter of Paul Lancaster and Mary Gage, his wife, of said Rowley, February 9, 1792. Came to this town June 18, 1792. Their children are: —

Paul, b. June 27, 1793.
Amos, b. Jan. 17, 1795.
William, b. April 17, 1799.

Mr. Thomas Stickney died March 19, 1814.

PROCEEDINGS.

February 4, 1897.

A meeting of the Society was held in its library room, Baxter Hall, Portland, and in the absence of the President was called to order at 2.30 P. M., by Rev. Dr. Burrage.

A paper on the Meeting House War in New Marblehead, now Windham, Maine, was read by Mr. Samuel T. Dole of Windham.

Mr. Joseph Williamson of Belfast read a brief memorial of the Rev. Father Sebastian Râle, the Jesuit missionary to the Indians, who lost his life at Norridgewock, in 1724, and presented as a gift to the Society a small seal ring found on the site of the Indian village, in 1892, believed to have been worn by Father Râle. The ring is given by Mr. C. R. Gannon of Salem, Massachusetts, and a vote of thanks was tendered him for the valued relic.

Rev. E. C. Cummings read a paper founded on the diary kept by Capt. Daniel Tucker of Falmouth, at the time of the bombardment of Portland and during the Revolution.

The Secretary read by titles the following papers, which were accepted and ordered to be placed on file : — An Account of the Settlement of a Church in the Wilderness (Paris, Maine), in 1791. By Charles E. Waterman of Mechanic Falls. Joseph Goldthwait,

Barrack Master at Boston in the Revolution. By Capt. Robert G. Carter, U. S. A., of Washington, D. C.

George F. Talbot, Esq., presented, as a gift from Harvard University, a photograph of the lifelike bust of Judge Ashur Ware, a former professor at Harvard and an original member of this Society. Several other gifts of portraits and views were announced, and votes of thanks were passed for all.

The chairman, Dr. Burrage, alluded to the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of this continent by John Cabot, which occurs in June next, about the time of the annual meeting of the Society, and it was voted to have papers prepared in commemoration of the event. The following were appointed a Committee of Arrangements, George F. Talbot, Rev. E. C. Cummings, Hubbard W. Bryant.

The customary votes of thanks were passed for the papers read, and copies requested for the archives.

The meeting then adjourned.

CAPT. DANIEL TUCKER IN THE REVOLUTION.

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH,

WITH PREFATORY REMARKS BY REV. E. C. CUMMINGS.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 4, 1897.

Mr. James Hopkins Smith, a few weeks ago, kindly placed in my hands a manuscript of considerable length, namely, the autobiography of his great-grandfather, Capt. Daniel Tucker. Capt. Tucker was a prominent citizen of Portland in his day, and as a young man shared in the fortunes of Falmouth during the Revolutionary epoch. Thinking that this autobiography would have features of special interest for the Maine Historical Society, I obtained Mr. Smith's permission to present it.

It appeared, however, by reference to Willis' History of Portland, that this sketch had been drawn upon by the historian, especially as respects the very interesting testimony to the character and service of Mr. Theophilus Parsons, afterwards chief justice of Massachusetts, but once a teacher in this thriving town of the District of Maine; also as respects Capt. Tucker's own apprenticeship at the age of eleven to Mr. Paul Little, with whom he was serving when Falmouth was bombarded by Mowatt. There would be little occasion, therefore, to reproduce any matter in the manuscript of a date previous to this event.

Also in Willis' History important genealogical and biographical details are given, presumably from this manuscript, that present particulars of Capt Tucker's life subsequent to the Revolution: — the family of his father, his own family, his successful career as a shipmaster, his extensive commercial operations in the distinguished firm of Weeks & Tucker, his reverses in consequence of the embargo of 1807, and his numerous public offices between that date and his death in 1823.

The peace that followed the Revolution opened to Capt. Tucker, and to other able and experienced men of Portland, a great field of commercial enterprise and seafaring adventure. How such men embarked in the new national movement of trade and commerce, together with the success which many of them achieved, is part of the common glory of our Portland. The story is so well remembered and recorded that I shall not venture to read that later and very interesting part of the manuscript, which takes the cheerful coloring of national peace, common prosperity and Christian hope. Here is a family memoir exceedingly significant,— to be preserved among family memorials, and to become possibly a vivid picture to some student in the far future, when our historic atmosphere shall differ, it may be, much more than at present from its earlier phases.

But from the destruction of Falmouth in 1775, to the peace of 1783, the personal recollections are of the Revolutionary movement. They pertain to that most

memorable episode of transition from colonial dependence to national being. A part, however small, in that momentous change elevates a personal testimony to a share in the dignity of national history; and what one actor sees with his own eyes can never lose its interest because general events are of familiar tradition, or because many other witnesses saw the same scenes from other points of observation, or shared the same experiences with circumstantial variations.

Besides, it was the fortune of Capt. Tucker to be engaged in the Revolutionary struggle, not only as one of the home guard, but also as a privateersman. The privateer is not likely to get his full due in history. He is an adventurer. He helps in the struggle of his country as a matter of private enterprise, in the expectation of capturing prizes as his reward. He is apt to be celebrated in story, but is not reckoned upon as contributing much to shape the course of events; and is counted possibly as a sort of licensed survival of the private warfare and systematic robbery of barbarous ages. Among the declarations respecting maritime laws signed by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia and Turkey, assembled in Congress at Paris, April 16, 1856, is this one: "Privateering is, and remains, abolished." But the United States, for substantial reasons connected with the smallness of her navy, has not given her signature, so far as I can learn, to this declaration. Be that as it may, the progress of international law leaves to the privateer of the past a just claim to take the witness'

stand on his own behalf, that he may either affirm the patriotic motive and general rectitude of his actions, or indicate possibly, on the other hand, the respects in which his conduct may have been warped by stress of circumstances inseparable from his calling. It is this consideration which gives Capt. Tucker's privateering narration a special interest and importance. He is part of a history necessarily obscure, which historical inquirers are apt to neglect, and with regard to which later tradition cannot be expected to compare in graphic distinctness with the testimony of an eye-witness actively concerned in the facts described.

Col. William M. Olin, Secretary of the Commonwealth, in his preface to "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolutionary War," an important record, the first two volumes of which have recently appeared, says: —

> It is to be regretted that the records of naval service during the Revolution, in the possession of the commonwealth, should be so meager and incomplete as compared with those of the military service, inasmuch as history records that the service rendered by men of Massachusetts afloat was equally as creditable and meritorious as that rendered by the land forces. By far the greater part of such service was performed by privateers, and these being matter of private enterprise, no official returns of officers and crews were required.

This is of some significance as accounting for the fact that privateersmen were possibly apt to treat their parole as a mere formality, when having been taken prisoners they were set at liberty on the promise of not serving in the same way again until they should be duly exchanged. As no exchange appar-

ently was provided for applicable to their case, their parole might seem to them to have been canceled before it was given.

With these prefatory remarks, therefore, I introduce an extract from Capt. Tucker's autobiography, covering the period from October 18, 1775, to the news of peace in the spring of 1783 : —

The burning of the town in October of this year is so important an event, attended with such distressing consequences to the inhabitants, and in which I was materially affected, I may here give an account, and without a deviation from my plan and being thought vain of writing a history of the war, or any part of it.

Thomas Coulson, an Englishman, came to Falmouth about the year 1770, master of an old ship named the John, and lay there a long time to repair his ship, and while there he married Dorcas Coffin, a sister of Dr. Coffin, and carried her to England with him. In 1774, Coulson, with his wife, returned to Falmouth, and entered into contract to build a very large ship, which took a long time to complete, and about the time the ship was finished and ready to be launched the difficulties between this and the Mother Country had greatly increased, and the first Congress in '74 had met at Philadelphia, and among many other provisions for the defense of the country, they passed a non-importation act, which provided that all goods, wares and merchandise that should thereafter arrive from England should forthwith be sent back, without being landed or the bandages being broken.

After this act was in force a small vessel arrived from Bristol, England, having on board the rigging, sails, cables, anchors and everything necessary to equip Coulson's new ship for sea; but the old custom-house being broken up, and all public business being conducted by a committee of public safety, Coulson had to apply to that committee for leave to land his goods in order to rig his ship. The committee, considering the goods were intended to be put on to a ship to go to England, thought it reasonable to grant this liberty; but the law did not allow them the power, and they advised Coulson to go to Watertown, to the Provincial Congress then sitting there, to see if that body would allow his cargo to be landed, which advice Coulson pretended to pursue; but instead of going to Watertown he went to Boston, and laid his case before the British admiral, Graves, and he sent to Falmouth the ship of war Canseau, commanded by the infamous Capt. Henry Mowatt, and under this protection the goods were landed and the new ship rigged in defiance of all authority in the town.

While this business was going on, and Mowatt's ship lying in the harbor, in the spring of 1775, Capt. Thompson, of Brunswick, laid a plan to come to Falmouth and take the ship by boarding her, and he with seventy men landed on the back side of Mount Joy's Neck in June: and Capt. Mowatt, his doctor, and Parson Wiswell, the church minister of the town, went to walk around the neck after dinner and fell into Thompson's hands and were made prisoners, and although Mowatt and his doctor ought to have been considered prisoners

of war, Thompson declared his intention of placing these two in the front of his boarding squadron and attempting the enterprise next morning. Against this measure Mowatt warmly remonstrated, and owing to the defenseless state of the town the committee of safety and the leading inhabitants interfered by endeavoring to persuade Thompson to let his prisoners go on board the ship on parole of honor to come on shore at nine o'clock the next morning, and after much conversation it was agreed that Mowatt and his doctor might go on board the ship on parole of honor, and the minister go about his business, on condition that Brigadier Preble, Enoch Freeman, Esq., and Moses Shattuck should become sureties for Mowatt's honor to come on shore the next morning according to agreement, which agreement he forfeited, and he never landed in that place afterwards. When he went to his barge he was accompanied by a large number of the most respectable inhabitants to whom he expressed his thanks in most glowing language for their influence in saving his life, as he expressed it, and he lamented the unhappy civil war that had been begun by the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill. What events this war might lead to he could not foresee, but he thought it might be that orders would be sent from the court of Great Britain to burn or destroy every town on the continent that was assailable; and if that should be the case he thought he had influence enough to save the town of Falmouth, and with a solemn assurance that his influence should be exerted to the utmost he stepped into his barge, bid the gentlemen

"good-night," and went on board and broke his parole. He returned again in October with five vessels under his command — two ships, two schooners, and one sloop. They arrived and anchored in the lower harbor on the sixteenth, and lay all night without any communication with the town, and the inhabitants were greatly terrified at this hostile fleet, until it was ascertained that Capt. Mowatt commanded the whole.

On the morning of the seventeenth the fleet got under weigh and began to warp up towards the town with kedge anchors. About eight o'clock A. M. my master, Little, came on horseback to the shop door, called me out, told me he was going to Windham to be gone several days and should send people to me with orders to pay for their labor, etc. I then asked him if he knew the fleet was coming up, and that people in general were of the opinion that it was coming with hostile intentions against the town, and he replied to me that Capt. Mowatt had the command, and there was no danger. He then went to Windham and left me, at fifteen years of age, with the care of both shops.

The ships and vessels were until four o'clock P. M. before they got to their anchorage before the town, and the inhabitants generally were in a state of alarm and many began to move out for safety. Mrs. Little was very much frightened and began to think of moving, and sent me with two old looking-glasses out to a place called Cape Leach. When I had deposited this treasure, worth about five dollars, and was about remounting my horse, a Windham man came by on the

gallop and told me the town was to be burnt in two hours. I then told him where Mr. Little was in Windham and desired him to send him word, and he promised he would, but did not.

I rode into town with all speed and found Mrs. Little with her children at the front door ready to go. She delivered to me a bag with all her husband's money, books and papers, and with her children walked over to Mr. Deering's farm. I then took all the money out of the shop and all the gold and silver ware, and carried the whole and delivered it to her, and went into town with a charge to save all I could. Before Mr. Little got in and with nobody to help me but the females of the family, I got everything ready to load up carts in expectation of Mr. Little's arrival every moment, and I was fortunate enough to get a man and horse to go after him. At two o'clock in the morning this man found Mr. Little in bed and asleep, not knowing anything of the distressed situation of the town.

When Mowatt had gotten his fleet moved and ready to fire, he sent his barge on shore with an officer, under a flag of truce, with a long letter to the committee of safety. The purport of the letter was to inform the committee that he had orders to set the town on fire immediately on his arrival, but he added that, from feelings of humanity, he would take it upon himself to so far deviate from his orders as to allow two hours to remove the human species. Immediately upon this official communication being read, a respectable committee went on board the

Canseau and entered into a conference with Mowatt, and with much difficulty prevailed on him to defer his work of destruction until nine o'clock the next morning, being October 18, 1775. Mowatt having stated to the committee the only condition on which he could spare the town, and that was for the inhabitants to deliver up their arms and swear allegiance to his Majesty, King George the Third. This condition being inadmissible the town was sacrificed to the cause of liberty and patriotism.

During this night the people saved all they could. About four o'clock in the morning Mr. Little got in with two stout teams which we loaded and sent out, and besides what we thus saved, the tide being up. we loaded a gondola at Pote's Wharf with West India goods and sent it round the neck, and then left a large amount of property to destruction. When nine o'clock drew near, the people generally had gone out of town, Col. John Waite came by our house and seeing Mr. Little in the house he spoke like a person in a fright and said, "Little, it is time to go. They will fire in a few minutes." His answer was, "I shall go directly," and turning to me he said, "Daniel, you had better go," and I replied, "I will go when you do." He soon started. He went through Federal Street, and I around Sandford's Corner through Back Street, and when I was abreast of the windmill that stood where Samuel Hussey's house now stands Mowatt hoisted a red flag and fired the first gun, and the shot whistled along between me and the old meeting house. The other vessels in the fleet being all

ready commenced a spiteful fire and continued it with very little cessation until 6 P. M.

The first store that was fired stood where William Gorham's house now stands on Middle Street, near the junction of Federal Street. This house burnt down without communication with any other, but it was but a short time before all the north part of the town was in a blaze. They landed in three boats from all their vessels at the same moment and threw torches into the windows and doors of the houses, and then fled like cowards on board the fleet. Among the public buildings burnt was a court-house, handsome and new, that stood where the North schoolhouse did, and the Episcopal church that stood on the lot adjoining Mrs. Newhall's dwelling-house. All the buildings on King Street, on Fore Street, from Fort Burrows to Exchange Street, and on Middle Street as far as Josiah Cox's house — all this was burnt, and a more melancholy sight, or a more cowardly transaction I did not witness during the war, and before it was over I was in three engagements at sea, of which you will hear more.

Mowatt immediately withdrew his fleet from the town and the next day sailed for Boston, which was then held and blockaded by the English. Many people have blamed the inhabitants of Falmouth for not defending the town against so small a force, but the truth is it was not in their power for there was not was a cannon mounted in town at that time, and there a great scarcity of powder. There was an old decayed fort and blockhouse where Mrs. Weeks' garden

now is. This fortress was built during the reign of Queen Anne, and was in ruins. The people all fled into the country at the beginning of winter which set in uncommonly early. They went out poor and had to live among a people as poor as themselves, and those that have occupied the stage of life since that time can form but a faint idea of what their ancestors suffered in those times that tried men's souls. Among the rest I had to take up my abode in the country and work on a farm in Windham.

Having served one whole year at farming and then grown quite tired of it, I went back to my native place with a view to finish my trade, but in this I failed and was obliged to serve as a soldier nearly two years, under old Capt. Lowell, who was a very good officer. We were stationed at Falmouth, and as the enemy did not visit us again during the war, we had no fighting to do, and our duty was to guard the garrison day and night, which was quite easy. This employment did not quite suit me, and in the spring of 1777, I determined to go to sea, and sailed in March, in an old schooner. The next morning we fell in with an English ten-gun schooner and were taken and made prisoners of war, but we fell into the hands of a very humane, well-disposed man who did not suffer any of our clothing to be plundered, and kindly put in for the land and put us all on shore near Mount Desert, and from there we got to Penobscot by water, and from thence home by land, on foot. My next voyage was to Martinique, where we arrived safely, and soon after I was taken with the small pox, in the

natural way but very light indeed, so that I have no marks to show for it. On our homeward-bound passage we were taken by an English privateer and carried to Savannah. By this Captain I lost my adventures, wages and part of my clothing, and was put in irons and lay fifteen days and nights in the hold, without bed, blanket, or great coat, and in a poor state of health, having a slow, intermittent fever.

When we made the land our irons were taken off in the morning and put on again at night, until we arrived and anchored in Savannah River near two English man-of-war. In this situation at sundown the armorer came with his box, looking like a farrier going to shoe horses, and began with one of my fellow prisoners to put on his irons, when I laughed at him and asked him if two men-of-war were not sufficient protection against us five prisoners, at which he appeared mortified and pleaded his orders. I then applied to the commanding officer and asked him if it was his orders to confine us in irons while under the guns of two frigates. He smiled and said he believed there was no need of it, and sent for the armorer and told him not to put the irons on us again. We lay some time in the river, very near the prison ships, and expecting every day to be sent on board where the prisoners were very sickly, and the dead were brought on shore every morning in great numbers, and buried on an Island near where the privateer lay. I, however, had the good fortune to escape the prison ship, and by telling a few plausible stories gained permission to go to Savannah in the boat that went up every

day, and when on shore in that place, I took French leave of the boat's crew and did not return to the privateer again.

I was obliged to conceal myself on board the vessel I had been taken in for fear of the press gangs, and being taken by them and sent on board a man-of-war or prison ship. After being a good while in this situation four or five of us American prisoners entered on board an English brig, bound to New York, where the enemy had possession, and if we had arrived we should have no doubt been sent on board a man-of-war or the old Jersey prison ship, out of which died, during the course of the war, eleven thousand two hundred and fifty-eight prisoners. Fortunately for us on board the English brig we fell in with a Philadelphia privateer which took us and made a prize of the brig and cargo. The captain of this American privateer finding that a number of us were Americans that had been taken, put us on wages and gave us a share of the prize that we were taken in, which was an act of great generosity, that helped us to money enough to bear our own expenses from Philadelphia home, where I arrived in August, 1779, having walked from Philadelphia to Boston, and from there sailed in a packet to Falmouth, now Portland.

All the time while I was on the road, and for three months afterwards, I was in a bad state of health and very feeble, consequently the journey proved to me a very laborious one, and brought me to the brink of the grave. When the weather grew cool in the fall, with the help of some medicine, I recovered and went

to Martinique again, in a brig of Newburyport where three vessels out of four were taken. I had the good luck to make this voyage safely, and made something handsome, and so I laid in an adventure for another voyage and engaged myself to go in a new armed brig called the "Portland," with Capt. Joseph Titcomb. We arrived safely in the West Indies, sold our cargo for a great price, laid in a valuable cargo and sailed for home, but soon after we sailed we fell in with a small English privateer that engaged us, and after a short action we struck our colors and gave up our valuable cargo and vessel to a schooner of inferior force, wholly for want of courage in our captain who was unfit for the command of an armed vessel. Our situation on board this vessel was wretched indeed, for the next day after we were on board we agreed among ourselves to take advantage of the first favorable opportunity and at the risk of our lives to rise upon the crew and take the privateer and overtake the prize brig which was then in company, but one of our own company was foolish enough to whisper this intention to a worthless American sailor who belonged to the privateer schooner and was cruising against his own countrymen; this fellow communicated our design to the officers, and all of us that were prisoners, except our cowardly captain and his officers, were put in irons, and the poor rascals had not a pair of handcuffs apiece for us, but yoked us together two and two.

In this situation we were several days and nights, painful indeed, for if one moved in the night he woke his fellow, and the one was obliged to accompany the

other on every occasion. We were destitute of bed and bedding, and almost naked, for they robbed us of our clothes, except what we had on. When we were first taken I cut open my bed sack, empted its contents, and stuffed it full of my bedding and clothes, and had some hope of being left on board the prize instead of going on board the privateer, but when I found the privateer's men plundering our men of all their baggage I divided mine and tied up a bundle, hoping to save a shirt and a pair of stockings, and as I lay under the bowsprit I was seen by one of those piratical Turks who ordered me to the boat. I plead permission from the prize master's mate, but the fellow said "No" (with an oath), "Mr. Ramsey, the prize master says he 'will have none of you,'" and when I went towards the gangway the Irish rascal seized the bed sack from under my arm. I then had hopes of saving my bundle, but he saw that though it was night. I said, "Will you take them, too?" "Yes, I'll take the tote." Then I wanted to fight again, but we were overpowered and obliged to submit.

We were at length relieved from this miserable condition by falling in with a small Dutch schooner bound to St. Eustacia, and to get clear of such a number of prisoners the captain of the privateer compelled the Dutchman to take us all on board. This little vessel was so deeply loaded that none of us could go below. In two or three days we arrived at St. Eustacia, and when my clothes were dry they were stiff with salt. In this island we found a friend by the

name of Hovey, who had lived in Falmouth, and who was acquainted with our fathers and friends, and he sheltered us and found us provisions until we could get employment, for which Daniel Freeman and myself made every exertion and tried to get business on several American vessels, but did not get suited under two or three weeks when there arrived the ship "Columbia," Jonathan Greely, commander, a vessel of twenty guns and fifty men. On board this ship Freeman and myself entered and sailed for Port au Prince where we arrived without meeting an enemy; but on the passage we fell in with and took up a small boat having in her eight Englishmen, the crew of a vessel bound from New York to Jamaica. These men, though enemies, were treated with hospitality and set at liberty on our arrival at the port above mentioned. Here our ship lay five or six weeks to discharge her cargo and take in a valuable cargo of sugar, cocoa and coffee, with which we sailed in company with a Boston ship for Spain. Both ships being manned and armed about alike, and with about fifty-five men each, and we had under our protection a convoy of several manned merchant vessels bound to this country.

When we had got out of the bite of Dogan and were steering for the crooked island passage, we were stopped in our course by a British fifty-gun ship, which chased us into the harbor of Cape St. Nicholas Mole and blockaded us there a week. While lying there I became acquainted with an old man by the name of Snow whom I found to be a complete mathematician, one that had been bred to the sea in every

station and gradation from the caboose to the cabin, and had also been an instructor on shore. Knowing my own deficiency in point of learning I engaged this old shipmate to teach me geometry, trigonometry and navigation on our passage, which he engaged to do for a small compensation, and our captain being a Casco Bay man, was particularly kind to Daniel Freeman and myself and lent me any books and instruments out of the cabin that I wanted. With these advantages, which I attentively improved, I learned the above-named arts while my shipmates in my watch were asleep, an indulgence I did not allow myself in the daytime while on our passage to Cadiz, where we arrived in March, 1781, and on the fourteenth day of this month I was twenty-one years old, and then I was so much of a navigator, as I have no doubt I could have navigated the ship home.

We laid about six weeks in Cadiz and took a very valuable cargo of wines, silks, and other dry goods and sailed for Boston in May, and proceeded on our voyage, occasionally cruising or looking out for English merchant vessels to make prizes of, but found none, and after having been out fifty days, and having run over all the banks from Newfoundland to Georges, we knew we were near Cape Cod and expected to make the land in the morning of the third of July, 1781, but at the dawn of that day our man at the masthead descried two vessels in chase of us, one a ship, the other a brig, and both being armed, our Captain Greely, though as brave a man as ever had command of the quarterdeck, considering the great

value of our ship and cargo, which in Boston, where we could have arrived that evening, would have been worth sixty thousand dollars, very prudently stood from them in the hopes of getting in safely after a ten month's voyage. But our ship, after having been a long time out, and her bottom being very foul, did not sail as fast as her pursuers and they came up with us very fast; having made the land near Plymouth in the fore part of the day we made every exertion and entertained hopes of getting into Boston harbor until sometime after an action began at four o'clock, P. M., which from that time till eight o'clock, P. M., was kept up from the ships in chase and from our ship, and for a part of this time we were within range of musket shot, and the number of musket shots that were fired at us were like showers of hailstones flying about our heads, and the cannon at the same time making havoc of our masts and yards. During part of the time of this chase I steered the ship, and the mizzen being brailed up and hanging in folds, it was perforated with musket balls that did not pass more than a foot or two over my head, and the sail was literally cut to pieces. When we were very near in, not more than two miles from the entrance of Boston Sound, the captain went forward to look out for the passage, for we could get no pilot, and when returning to the quarter deck he cheered the men at the guns and gave encouragement that we should get in. But at this moment he received a mortal wound by a musket ball in the forehead between his eyes. He made out to reel to the quarter deck and said to the first lieutenant that he

was badly wounded and must go below to the doctor, and at the same time gave him a charge to defend the ship as long as he could, which was not long, for the enemy's ship came alongside and put forty men on our deck all armed with some deadly weapon, and made bloody work among us, and we stuck to the ship to within a mile and a half of where the Boston lighthouse now stands, and stood off towards Cape Cod, bound to New York. Capt. Greely died of his wound. Many more were wounded, but no others died. One was shot in his breast and the ball went around by his ribs and stopped against his backbone, and Dr. Osgood, our surgeon, opened the place and took it out with his thumb and finger. This man got well and Mr. Robert Boyd, our ship's steward, saw him four years afterward in good health.

We were all made prisoners of war on board His Britannic Majesty's ship, General Monk, under the command of Capt. Rogers, a young officer who was a brave and generous man. He did not allow us to be plundered of our baggage, and otherwise treated us as well as prisoners of war could expect. Our number was so near that of the ship's crew that it was necessary for him to keep us under deck, with hatches barred down and sentries over us night and day. Our situation was uncomfortable to be sure, and some of our ship's company, not used to being prisoners, were much discouraged and would stay below when they might have gone on deck in their turn, but I preferred the deck in the open air to being below in the smoke and dirt, and kept on deck as much of the time

as I could. At one time while I was leaning on the gunwale, looking anxiously at the land and the many vessels in sight, the captain came out of his cabin with his spyglass under his arm and taking his stand by my side took a view of the shore of Cape Cod, and turning towards me he observed that it was unfortunate for me and for the rest of my fellow-prisoners that those vessels were so far to the windward that he could not fetch them, for if he could he would take some of them and send us all home. Though he was a young man about my own age, I thought it kind of him and thanked him and told him that as we were then prisoners of war in his possession it was the greatest favor we could ask or he bestow upon us.

There were then two ships and one brig in company, all bound to New York, and our most alarming apprehensions were of being imprisoned on board of the old Jersey prison ship; but from this deadly place we were rescued by the fleet falling in with two Nantucket sloops that were out cruising after whales. They came up with and took them both, and one they made a cartel of, and one of their lieutenants came to the grating and called to us below, telling us to be ready in a moment to go on board one of the vessels for they were going to send us home. Nothing could be to us more gratifying, and we all went on deck and signed a parole wherein we promised not to take up arms against his Britannic Majesty again until we were regularly exchanged for as many English prisoners in possession of the Americans, about which

I gave myself no trouble for we were soon landed in Boston, and I once more returned home and began to look about for the best armed ship that I could find. I entered on board the ship "Fox," Joshua Stone, commander, and our other officers were Joseph Titcomb, David Stonet, Nathaniel Hatch, and John Mussey steward, the ship being manned with forty-five men. We sailed for Cape Francois where we arrived safely, but not without difficulty and danger, for when we were near making the Island of Hispaniola we saw a large ship and immediately gave chase for her, and she for us, and we stood on in this way until we made her out to be a frigate, and then we had to depend for our safety upon the fast sailing of our ship, and we soon left her and stood on our course for the old Cape, and the next morning we were close in with the land on our larboard beam, and at sunrise we saw the same frigate about five leagues off on the starboard beam, she having suspected where we were bound and followed us, and gave us a hard day's chase from sunrise until just before sunset when she gave up the pursuit; we having lightened our ship could outsail the frigate which we knew to be an enemy.

Our ship was a commissioned letter of marque, mounting fourteen guns, six iron and the rest wooden guns in imitation of iron ones, commonly called Quakers. Having escaped the enemy, the next day we arrived and anchored in the harbor of Cape Francois among a numerous fleet of French and American ships and vessels that were then waiting for convoy. Our cargo was sold, landed, and another taken in with

great despatch, to be ready to sail with the fleet and convoy. The fleet was so large it took two days to get out of the narrow passage of the harbor, and when we were all out that intended to join the convoy, the harbor looked like a forest of trees on account of the masts of a great number of ships and vessels that were left behind. The fleet consisted of more than three hundred sails convoyed by a French sixty-four-gun ship, and several frigates and corvettes. Our ship sailed so fast that we could keep up with the convoy under our three topsails without any other sails. Tired of this slow movement, as soon as we were clear of the Caucas Passage we made sail in the night, and ran away from the fleet, and arrived in Portland in twenty days passage, having been very near cast away on a reef at the entrance of old Plymouth Harbor, on a most dangerous place, where the sea broke over us, and there was not two feet of water under our keel, and if we had struck we should probably all have been drowned. Not long before that time a Boston privateer got on that reef, went to pieces and lost fifty men, old Mr. William Stevens of Portland being among the few that were saved. It was late in November, 1781, when we arrived, and this was the second safe voyage that I had made so far in the war, and having a little property I thought myself rich enough to get married, and in the beginning of the year 1782, I was married at Back Cove by the Rev. Mr. Brown, to Dorcas Barton, she being then eighteen years and three months old, and I was twenty-two the middle of the next March.

This winter being uncommonly hard and cold our ship lay by until the spring, and I having nothing else to do, employed part of the time in teaching navigation. In the month of March our ship was again loaded and ready to sail for Havana, having the same number of men and guns as on the last voyage, and our officers were, Joshua Stone, commander, David Street, Arthur McLellan and Daniel Tucker. This is the first time that I was an officer. John Mussey was with us as steward and acted as doctor, having the care of the medicine chest. We arrived safely at Havana after a short passage, and lay there two months, being embargoed part of the time. When the embargo was raised we sailed in company with forty American ships and vessels, some bound to Europe and some with us to America. Many of these ships were armed, and the strongest of these was the Congress, of Philadelphia, of twenty-four nine-pounders bound to Spain. When we got past the trade winds that part of the fleet bound for Europe left us, and ours being the strongest ship, led the rest under our convoy, and although we had to run under easy sail to let the dull sailers keep up, we arrived and anchored in Portland Harbor in twenty days passage. We had on board fifteen or sixteen men sick with the small pox, and we had to run the ship up to where Vaughan's bridge now is to land the sick and cleanse the ship.

The next vessel I engaged in was the fast sailing brig "Union," fourteen guns, six iron and the rest Quakers, having in all twenty-one men, including

officers, viz.: Capt. Gage; first officer, Henry Waite; second, Daniel Tucker, and Jonah Dyer, prize master. We sailed in the month of July or August, and arrived at St. Pierre, in Martinique, after a good passage for the time of year. Having a letter of marque commission, we chased and boarded every vessel we saw, but found none but Americans or neutrals. The objects of our pursuit were English, not one of whom did we meet until after we completed our business at Martinique by landing our cargo at St. Pierre, and taking in return a cargo of cocoa with which we sailed, and after being at sea long enough to get as far to the northward as the islands of Bermuda, and being about two degrees of longitude eastward of them, early one morning we saw two vessels to the northward of us and immediately gave chase to them, and soon could determine that one was a schooner and the other a sloop, the schooner aiming for us, and the sloop in the opposite direction. We continued on this course until we came nigh enough to ascertain with our glasses that the schooner was a formidable armed vessel, full of men too strong for us, and we having on board a valuable cargo, thought best to take care of that and our vessel, and also ourselves; we tacked ship and endeavored to get away and avoid a contest if we could, but the wind failing, and the schooner being stronger manned than we were, she gained on us notwithstanding all our efforts in trimming the sails, to make the most of the light air of wind there was and with our sweeps. At about sunset, finding no possibility of avoiding a contest with

our antagonist, Capt. Gage called his officers about him, and like a prudent man as well as a brave one, he asked us what was best to be done with the situation we were then in. And it was the opinion of all that as we could not avoid him it was best to have it out with him, and accordingly we tacked and stood for him boldly until we got within half the range of cannon shot, and then every man being at his station, we, at the word of command from the quarter deck, and in unison with the boatswain's call from the forecastle, hauled up our courses, down staysails, and in royal and top gallant sails, and at the same moment fired at him six six-pounders, which were well directed, and all this being done in a prompt and warlike manner, our foeman fired upon us one broadside and put about and stood from us, and this conduct animated all on board of our brig, and gave us hopes we should be able to defend ourselves, and, after exchanging a great many shots at each other, he wore round and passed by us with his head to the southward, when ours was to the northward, and we passed so near that a conversation was carried on by questions and answers, and "What brig is that?" "What schooner is that?" were repeated over and over until I, standing by the side of Capt. Gage, suggested to him to answer "The brig Haulker," and in answer to the next question, "What brig is that?" Gage deliberately answered, "The privateer brig 'Haulker' from Philadelphia, on a cruise." In reply our antagonist said, "I don't believe it." Then our captain replied "Come nearer alongside and I will convince

you." His answer was "Ay, ay, I'll be alongside of you directly," and we expected him, but he stood away from us with a light air of wind there was, and all hands on board our brig were looking out for him until no eye on board could discern him, and then we set all sail and out sweeps, and endeavored to get from him as fast as we could, knowing that if he came up with us again we should be overpowered and taken. The next morning he was at so great a distance that we could just see his hull, and then he renewed the chase and kept us hard at work at our sweeps all day, it being nearly calm. It was a hot day and we were on an allowance of one quart of water a day, and this was a distressing day indeed, but a little before sundown a fine breeze sprung up, and we hauled in our sweeps, filled our sails, and left him without saying "good-by," for when we had a good breeze of wind we feared nothing that sailed, neither frigate nor seventy-fours.

Having got clear of this difficulty we arrived safely at Cadiz, meeting with many singular occurrences too numerous for me to recount. It was afterwards ascertained by Capt. Enoch Preble, Nathaniel Morse and Jonah Dyer that the schooner we had the rencounter with was the "Lady Hammond" of Bermuda, of twelve guns and seventy men; that our first broadside being a ranging shot cut the captain's neck half off and killed him instantly, besides wounding several men, and this accounts for their not coming alongside of us with more bravery. Here ended all my fighting, having been three times engaged in the course of the

Revolutionary war, besides the shots old Mowatt fired at me when he burnt the town, and I was in it almost all day, for I soon returned after I went out. We made quick despatch at Cadiz, landed and sold our cargo of cocoa, and took a cargo of salt, enough to ballast, and filled up with wine, raisins, lemons and other fruit and dry goods. A rich cargo indeed we had, which paid more than five hundred per cent. profit in Boston. The morning we sailed for home we passed in sight of the combined French and Spanish fleet that had just left the siege of Gibraltar. We felt safe because we knew that Lord Howe with the English fleet had gone off the coast, and we therefore bore down upon the center of the grand fleet which was a most stupendous sight, there being between fifty and sixty line-of-battle ships, and frigates and transports in great numbers. When we got within a league of the weather ships we hauled up westward on our course, and the Admiral, making a signal, a frigate and a corvette gave us chase and fired to bring us to, but confident of our superior sailing, and being apprehensive of ill usage, although we knew them to be friendly ships, we kept on our course and outsailed them both, and arrived at Portland after a passage of twenty-six days. Two ships that sailed from Cadiz about a week before us arrived about a week after, and the captains thought they had made good passages.

It being about Thanksgiving time the "Union" sailed immediately for Boston to get our fruit to market, but I was advised not to go on account of my ill

health, having a most frightful cough and spitting blood in great quantities, which I did all the passage; but I stood at my watch all the time and in the morning the deck would be covered with the spots of blood I had thrown off during the night. I then hired apartments in town and went to housekeeping, pretty independent, not owing a cent to anybody, and having an adventure on board the "Union" that was worth fifteen hundred dollars, which was soon turned into cash. Being in such a precarious state of health I gave up the thought of going to sea again that winter, and six or eight young men engaged me to instruct them in geometry, trigonometry and navigation, and we took a chamber in Mrs. Wildridge's house, and paying close attention to this business, soon got through with it. These young men all became mates and masters of vessels, and now there is only one living, Capt. Enoch Preble, all the rest having long since paid the debt of nature.

The winter of this year, 1782-83, was the first that I passed at home after the commencement of my seafaring life, and we being almost the only young family in town, we had a social time, my days being spent in school, and having company almost every evening, and it was perhaps as agreeable a winter as any of my whole life. In the spring of the year 1783, we had the news of peace, *i. e.*, the preliminary articles being signed and a suspension of hostilities taking place. When this news reached Boston I was there with Father Barton in his old schooner "Dolphin," and as Father Smith says in his journal,

"Boston was all in a toss." The handbills were hawking about and I got some of them and told Mr. Barton we had better hurry off and carry the news to Casco Bay. We sailed that day and arrived and ran aground on the flats just after daylight the next morning, and having six loaded guns to fight "shaving mills," that is, armed boats, these guns were handed up to me on deck one by one and I fired them off in quick succession, which roused the people from their beds, and they came running down to the wharf to know what the firing was for, to which we answered that they were not warlike guns but fired on account of peace. The word "peace" was expressed and echoed over and over again with feelings that were unutterable, and by this time the old skipper had paddled me in the float to the wharf. It being low water the people got part of the way down the wharf and took me by the collar and lifted me on to the wharf where I delivered one of the printed handbills to Parson Hall, and he mounted a hogshead and read it to the people. They received the news with joy, and, so old Parson Smith says, "they spent the day in a frolic," drinking and firing guns among the houses.

GAMBO, OLD AND NEW.

BY SAMUEL T. DOLE.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 19, 1895.

THIS fine water-power is situated on the Presumpscot River, twelve miles from Portland and is reached by the mountain division of the Maine Central Railroad. The falls have been utilized for manufacturing purposes from an early period in the history of the towns of Gorham and Windham, but at just what time a mill, or mills, was erected, or who first located here, I am unable to ascertain. Jonathan Loveitt, who tells us under his own hand that he was born in Cape Elizabeth, September 9, 1743, came to this town sometime in 1769, and bargained for a sawmill then standing on Windham side of the falls, but fails to state to whom it then belonged; the family tradition says, however, that it was the property of parties in Boston, which was doubtless the case. For some reason this bargain was never consummated and Mr. Loveitt leased the mill and for many years did a large amount of business, having in addition to the sawmill a grocery store in which he kept for sale everything from a mouse trap to a hogshead of New England rum. His store, according to the memory of several aged people, stood on the spot now (1895) occupied by the dwelling-house of Capt. John Williams. He also fitted up a grist-mill in one part of the sawmill, and employed a queer old fellow named Peter Bolton,

as miller, whose pithy sayings and harmless, practical jokes made him immensely popular with the neighboring inhabitants who were wont to patronize the mill.

How long Mr. Loveitt remained in business here I am unable to say, but as the last entry in his old ledger (still preserved in the family) bears date of May, 1815, it is probable that he closed operations about that time. He appears to have been a shrewd, clear-headed business man, honest and upright in his dealings, and greatly respected by his employees and the public generally ; his death occurred March 19, 1819.

The falls on the Gorham side, together with a large amount of land, belonged at this time to the Webb family, and sometime during the year 1816, a man named Livy Buker, came here and married Ann Webb, one of the above named family and built a small mill on that part of the privilege belonging to his wife's family, where for several years he manufactured the farmers' wool into rolls to be spun on the old-fashioned spinning-wheels. He also owned and occupied the house now known as "the house on the sand hill." He remained here several years, but finally went away ; when, I have no means of knowing.

In 1817, two gentlemen named Edmund Fowler and Lester Laflin came here from Massachusetts and bought the water-power on the Gorham side, on which they erected a line of powder mills of small capacity and commenced to manufacture that article in the year 1818. At first everything seemed to favor the enterprise ; but it appears that their rock ahead was the redoubtable Buker, who, feeling himself aggrieved

by the sale of the privilege to these gentlemen, proceeded to make all the trouble he possibly could, uttering the most diabolical threats against their persons and property. At length he ascertained that by law no one was allowed to build and operate a powder mill within one-half mile of a dwelling-house owned by other parties and, as his house stood within fifty rods of the mills, after these men were well under way making powder, he coolly informed them that they might either buy him out at his own price or suffer the consequences of violating the statute in such cases made and provided. On consulting legal authority they found that he had the law on his side, and having had, moreover, a taste of his stubborn persistency, they finally gave him about double the actual worth of his property and he left them in peace. After this war was ended, Messrs. Laflin and and Fowler continued their business successfully until June 22, 1827, when they were both accidentally drowned in Lake Sebago. The following account of this sad affair is taken from the "Morning Star," a paper published in Limerick, Maine, and credited to the "Eastern Argus" of this city; the article bears date of June 28, 1827: —

MELANCHOLY ACCIDENT.

On Friday last (June 22), Messrs. Edmund Fowler, Lester Laflin and Matthew McCulley of Gorham, and William Orr of Standish, with his son, aged about ten years, were on Sebago Pond on a fishing party; on their return towards sunset, as is supposed, the boat was capsized in a sudden squall of wind, and they were all drowned. Their hats have since been found on Indian Island.

Messrs. Fowler and Laflin were of the firm of Edmund Fowler & Co., of the Cumberland Powder manufactory in Gorham, and Mr. McCulley, a native of Ireland and a single man, was foreman of that establishment. The two former gentlemen were natives of Southwick, Mass. Mr. Fowler has left a family in said town, and Mr. Laflin was recently married. Mr. Orr has also left a wife and family.

This sad catastrophe caused a suspension of the business until January 13, 1833, when Oliver Whipple of Lowell, Massachusetts, bought the property left by these unfortunate men and commenced the same business, which he carried on with uniform success for many years. He was a man of enterprising character, and under his management the business rapidly increased, and believing that practically there was no limit to the demand for the manufactured article, he set about enlarging his borders. To this end he purchased the privilege on the Windham side, together with the fine farm lying above the falls, formerly the property of Capt. Philip Crandall, and the one adjoining that belonging to a Mr. John Hamblin. He also built new mills on an improved plan and gave steady employment to a large force of workmen to whom he gave liberal wages, but from whom he demanded implicit obedience to his rules and regulations. He installed as his agent and local representative his brother Lucius Whipple, a man universally beloved by old and young, and although his time was fully occupied in looking after his brother's interests, he was always foremost in every enterprise that promised to promote the good of his adopted town. He died in the prime of life and was succeeded as agent by his

brother James, a man of good capacity and genial nature, but who lacked the executive ability of his brother. However, things went along successfully until October 12, 1855, when a terrible explosion took place by which seven men lost their lives, Mr. James Whipple being one of the number, also Mr. George Whipple, only son of the aged proprietor. Shortly after this sad calamity Mr. Whipple sold the entire plant here to Messrs. G. G. Newhall & Company, and in a short time died at his home in Lowell. With the above transfer closes the history of old Gambo.

The gentlemen, Newhall & Company, added largely to the already flourishing business by erecting a line of mills on the Windham side of the river, which they put in operation during the summer of 1855, thereby doubling the amount of business formerly done. After the accident noticed above, a new line of mills was erected on the sites of those destroyed, and the affairs of the corporators moved along successfully until 1859, when several new partners were admitted and the present company was incorporated by the name of the Oriental Powder Company, and Mr. William Jackson was chosen superintendent of the entire works. Under his efficient management great improvements were made both in the mills and machinery, and also in the quality of the manufactured article. Mr. Jackson, being a firm believer in the value of landed property, purchased large quantities of the neighboring owners, until the company became the possessor of more than six hundred acres, a large

part of which is covered with a fine growth of wood and timber. This magnificent estate is located on both sides of the river and includes the entire water power in Windham and Gorham, They also own the falls about three-quarters of a mile above, known as Loveitt's Falls, but have never erected any mills at that place ; in fact, as one of the company once said, "We only bought it in order to drown it out if we wished to do so." The commencement of the Civil war found this company doing a steady and remunerative business with easy facilities for enlargement. Mr. Jackson with his usual energy immediately obtained a large government contract, doubled his force of workmen, and during the war run the mills night and day to their fullest capacity. By these means immense quantities of powder were made each month, all of which was transported to a wharf in this city by horse teams. No doubt but many here present remember the huge, canvas-topped carts drawn by six and eight horses, that slowly wended their way through specified streets, loaded with the deadly explosive.

After the war things at the mills resumed their former routine of steady work until sometime in 1873, when Mr. Jackson was superseded by Mr. Joseph Newhall, as superintendent of the works ; he remained but a few years and was succeeded by his brother, Ezra F. Newhall, who remained until the fall of 1895. Owing to the business depression of 1893-94, the mills closed operations and remained idle until September 10, 1895, when about sixteen men were hired and the

mills started under the supervision of a Mr. Kaiser, who was appointed superintendent by the company.

The name, Gambo, which these falls have borne for more than one hundred and twenty years, has given rise to a great deal of speculation as to its probable origin. Many believe it to be the Indian name; while others stoutly contend that it has no reference whatever to the aborigines, and quote a tradition to the effect that in the early days a sea captain of Gorham brought with him from the West Indies a negro named Gambo, who, in the course of time, made his home at the falls. The tradition further asserts that he was an excellent musician, and the notes of his violin soon became a source of attraction to the young people of the vicinity, and it became a common saying "Let's go and visit Gambo," and in a short time the locality became known as Gambo. I give the tradition as I heard it many years ago from several of the older inhabitants, and am inclined to believe it to be the truth; but when the Portland & Ogdensburg Railroad became a part of the Maine Central the name of the place was changed to Newhall, in honor of the family so long connected with the interests of the corporation. In 1893, a post-office was established there and William G. Newhall was appointed post-master, and so the old name has become a thing of the past.

Since the commencement of the powder manufacture here many and terrible explosions have taken place, but no official records have been kept by the company, and at one time I almost despaired of

obtaining anything like a correct record of those who had lost their lives in this dangerous employment; but by the greatest good fortune I accidentally found a record that had been kept by a man who was born in the place, and had spent almost his entire life as an operative in the mills; from which I learn that forty-one men have been blown up, of which but one survived. As this list and the copy I made since the last explosion are the only ones known to be extant I give herewith a copy, deeming it worthy of preservation. The following is the list as kept by Mr. Benjamin Hooper and his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Mary J. Hooper, and is doubtless correct:

July 19, 1828, Hanson Irish, Wm. Moses, Major Mains, James Gerry, William Lambert, Josiah Clark and Noah Babb were killed; Oct. 17, 1835, Charles Humphrey; Sept. 2, 1847, Greenlief Bachelder; July 18, 1849, Dennis Hatch; Oct. 1, 1850, Leander White; Sept. 22, 1851, Thomas Bickford; Oct. 12, 1855, Luther Robinson, Edwin Hardy, John Swett, Franklin Hawkes, Samuel Phinney, George Whipple and James Whipple; May 6, 1856, Alfred Allen; Sept. 12, 1856, George White, Oliver Gerry and Peter Ritchie; Jan. 15, 1859, David C. Jones; July 9, 1861, Charles Carmichael; July 7, 1862, Augustus Little, Albert Glidden and Mark Varney; Nov. 15, 1863, Haggart Freeman; Feb. 22, 1869, Charles Charlow; July 2, 1869, Benjamin Hawkes; Aug. 6, 1870, Frank Jordan and Clinton Hooper — not killed; Nov. 15, 1871, John Densmore; Oct. 27, 1879, C. P. Stokes and Clinton Mayberry; Jan. 31, 1884, Reuben Kenney; Mar. 11, 1886, Clarence Clay and Harry Hooper; Nov. 5, 1888, Walter Childs and Edwin Williams; Dec. 3, 1888, William Bamblett.

RECORDS OF THE PROPRIETORS OF NEW GLOUCESTER AND REMINISCENCES OF SOME OF THE EARLY SETTLERS.

BY JOHN W. PENNEY.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, November 22, 1895.

The English people that settled New England, fondly remembering the land of their birth, brought with them the cherished name of homeland, and to perpetuate its memory planted it in American soil, that it might be a constant reminder of the ties that yet bound them to the mother country. Hence we have in our country, especially New England, many counties, towns and cities bearing English names.

The town of New Gloucester, in Cumberland County, Maine, is the legitimate child of Gloucester, Massachusetts, and the Gloucester of Massachusetts is strictly the offspring of ancient Gloucester in England, a city of importance on the river Severn, one hundred and seven miles from London and thirty-six from the great maritime town of Bristol.

The Gloucester of England is of remote antiquity. It was the *Caer Glow* of the Britons, the *Colonia Glevum* of the Romans, and *Glean Ceaster* of the Saxons, whence its English name Gloucester, pronounced Gloster.

The colonists of picturesque Cape Ann, which they in memory of their homeland across the water, called

Gloucester, were sturdy men, in whose veins flowed Puritan blood, men who came to our shores with a purpose, intrepid, determined and courageous. Their descendants of the next century felt equal to the arduous task of establishing a new town in the savage and unexplored wilderness of the Province of Maine, and by their enterprise and sagacity they did achieve what they undertook, and built one of the best and most distinguished towns in the state of Maine, a town, although strictly rural, yet noted for its able men who participated in public affairs, for its high moral and educational characteristics, its patriotism and loyalty to country and home.

A hundred and sixty years have passed since "the Great and General court of Massachusetts Bay" granted to sixty of the inhabitants of Gloucester a township in the "Eastern parts" six miles square, to be located "on the back of North Yarmouth." The individual history of these sixty men would be of surpassing interest. A trace of it only have they left, in the admirable proprietors' records that have come down to us. These records are an index to the character, and the standing in society, of the men who helped to lay the foundation stones of the commonwealth of the grand state of Maine. The titles affixed to many of their names — reverend, deacon, captain, esquire — indicate their standing in society, and that they were the first men of the place. The records show the indefatigable struggle against the forces of nature, disappointments, losses and sorrows of hope deferred, perils in the wilderness by savage, and wild

beasts, intrepid and courageous warfare against every discouraging obstacle, which finally crowned their enterprise with all the honors and gratification of a glorious success.

The proprietors' records cover a period of seventy-one years, beginning in 1736 and ending in 1807, their last meeting occurring on May twentieth of that year at the meeting-house of the first parish. During this time they held one hundred and thirty-eight recorded legal meetings for transaction of business pertaining to the interests of their township. For twenty-seven years their meetings were held at Gloucester, Massachusetts, first recorded at Capt. William Ellery's until 1744, then for five years there is no record of any meeting. During these years the Indians and elements had undisputed sway in the new township, and destroyed what they had so laboriously built. The next six years, beginning in 1749, the meetings were held at Mrs. Mary Perkins', innholder; then for eight years, until 1763, at James Broome's, innholder. During this year the records were removed to New Gloucester, and the first proprietors' meeting held in the blockhouse, Tuesday, November 22, 1763. A new prudential committee was chosen, consisting of Jonathan Taylor, Daniel Merrill and William Harris. Isaac Parsons was elected proprietors' clerk and "sworn to the faithful discharge of his duty." The admirable, neat and well-kept records are an unimpeachable witness of his faithfulness for forty-four years, or during the remaining years of the corporation, which expired in 1807. Further on,

reference will be made to this remarkable man, so identified with the interests of the young town.

Notwithstanding the vast domain of unoccupied land in the Province of Maine at the disposal of the General Court of Massachusetts Bay in 1736, it was no trifling matter to locate a township as the records conclusively show.

At the first proprietors' meeting, held April 27, 1736, it was "voted that Mr. John Roberts and Timothy Day, Jun., be the men to go to the eastward to look out a convenient and suitable place where to lay out the above mentioned township." It appears that these persons promptly and faithfully performed their duty. Piloted by some unknown person through the trackless and unbroken forest they made their hit-or-miss "pitch on the back of North Yarmouth," as directed, which was accepted by the proprietors at a meeting held thirty-five days after their appointment.

At a meeting held October twelfth, the same year, it appears that the draft made by Roberts and Day overlapped grants made to the towns of Gorhamtown and Boston, and it was "voted that Rev. Mr. White should subscribe a letter to the General Court relating to the present circumstances of our Township, whether we might have some consideration by land out of the next adjourning towns, viz.: Boston and Gorham, if it be spared to make up our township according to our grant," and that "Capt. Joseph Allen, Esq., should be the person to prefer the petition aforementioned to the General Court in order for a hearing."

At the next meeting, held November 15, 1736, they voted "That they will still conform to their former votes, and further proceed towards finding a suitable place in the Eastward parts for their Township, agreeable to their grant of court made to them," and further, "voted that Capt. Joseph Allen, Esq., with Lieut. William Haskell, be the persons to represent said society in making the utmost search by advising with such gentlemen as they shall think can give them the best instructions, concerning the grants and bounds of land near to North Yarmouth in Casco Bay, or elsewhere in them parts, and if they cannot find by information sufficient for a township, then as soon as possible to put in a petition to the General Court to have our Grant confirmed to us by the having a township in the Westward Parts," and they also further voted to accept the grant of a township in the "Westward Parts" provided it could not be found in the eastward parts.

By the term "Westward Parts" I think they meant ungranted territory west of the Saco River, as there was at this time much unsettled land in what is now York County.

The bounds of the town were not fully determined upon and concurred in by the House of Representatives until July 1, 1737, and they were as follows: —

Beginning at the Easterly corner of a Township lately granted and laid out unto sundry inhabitants of Newtown laying on the back of North Yarmouth and from said corner running North East (adjoining partly on the Back of North Yarmouth, and partly on Province land) five miles to a large Maple tree marked on four sides, and sundry letters cut in the bark of said tree, with the date of the year,

which is 1737, and from said tree and first mentioned corner extending that full width North West, seven miles and one-fifth of a mile: making the full complement of six miles square.

At the incorporation of the town in 1774, these bounds were practically followed but better defined.

In 1794, by order of the town, a true plan, by actual survey, was made by a committee consisting of Nathaniel C. Allen, Moses Merrill and Nathaniel Eveleth. It is lodged with the register of deeds in Cumberland County, Portland.

During the year 1737, they plotted their township, petitioned the General Court for directions for holding legal meetings and chose Philomen Warner, Jr., proprietors' clerk, which office he held until the records were removed to New Gloucester in 1763.

In February of the next year, 1738, they held important meetings at which they officially named their township "New Gloucester" and employed "Mr. Felt of Linn" as counsel to defend them "in case any person should lay claim to New Gloucester to stand them in law."

They voted to "run a line between New Gloucester and New Town" (Gray) called also in these records Boston and New Boston. At this meeting the proprietors drew their lots and their names with the lot number are nicely tabulated in the records. "It is expressly stipulated that the person that shall draw the lot on which is the mill privilege, shall give security that he will within two years build thereon a sawmill and saw lumber for seven years for the proprietors to the halves."

At this meeting — memorable in the annals of the town — is prominently brought to view the character, business energy, and enterprise of those sixty proprietors. At this distance we can but admire the courage, sagacity and far-seeing wise policy, that though environed by seemingly unsurmountable difficulties could undertake to cut a twelve-mile road, twelve feet wide, through the primeval forest, build warranted bridges, "fit for a cart and horse," so that there would be "a good way" from the shore of Casco Bay to the heart of their embryo village in the center of the town in which stood their prospective "25 x 35 by 10 foot stud meeting-house."

Nature with a lavish hand embellished New Gloucester. Few towns can boast of such natural beauty of scenery or a richer heritage of soil. The exquisite landscape that lay spread before the pioneer explorer as he stood on the highlands of Harris Hill and viewed the vast forest that adorned its majestic slopes, gazed enraptured on the vast expanse of meadow, a vacuum in the otherwise unbroken forest, whose rich virgin grasses waved in the sunlight ready for the scythe of civilization, the shining waters of the placid Wescustogo that wound its devious way through the fringe of giant elms that lined its banks along the meadow, making a water way to Casco Bay, and a water power for the town. The interminable wilderness on the east side of the river through which their road was to be cut, the sweet brook that flowed near by the selected site of their public building, that was to be their church, garrison, and place of town

business, whose cascade would turn the overshot wheel of their sawmill while its melody cheered the cabin of the settler. With such a picture of nature's loveliness before him and such an environment — the forest which could be turned into a rich field, the river a power and a water-way on which masts for the king could be floated to tide water, the meadow whose perennial riches were never failing, the brook with its waterfall in close proximity to the blockhouse, the natural strategic possibilities of the locality — all conspired to make it an ideal spot for the initial settlement of a new town, and its selection throws a luster of never fading brightness on the memory of the men who had the courage and skill to go up and possess it.

Plain John Millett was the man chosen to hew its highway through the wilderness, build and insure for one year a great bridge over the river and all small bridges and causeways for the small sum of one hundred and twenty pounds, and the job must be satisfactory to the proprietors or the whole matter to be left to be settled by arbitration.

On November thirtieth, the same year, the proprietors voted him twenty-five pounds "more than his bargain" for cutting the way, etc. The next year, 1739, they voted "considering he has a hard bargain" that if he "build a good and sufficient cart bridge over the river he shall have the full of his bargain paid him." In 1742, they voted him forty pounds, old tenor, additional, and again in November the same year, twenty pounds, old tenor.

On the fourteenth of February, 1744, they voted him still another sum of ten pounds, old tenor, "to make up his loss on the bridge." Ten years later, 1754, John Millett's right was sold at auction. This short sentence leads to the conclusion that the road and bridge he built in the wilds of New Gloucester were the cause of his financial ruin, but he, like many another man of his time, "builded better than he knew," and the road he so laboriously built from North Yarmouth to the center of New Gloucester a hundred and fifty-seven years ago is yet one of the principal thoroughfares of the town, and his enduring monument.

While the proprietors were using their utmost endeavor to "bring forward" the settlement of their township by making roads and improvements and offering bounties to settlers, they were scared by the ghost of an old Indian deed, which if held to be legal would ruin their grant. It was given by five Indian sagamores, viz.: Robin Hoode, Derumquen, Abomhamman, Weroumby and Roben, to Thomas Stevens in 1673, sixty-three years before the grant of New Gloucester, and is recorded in the York records but not acknowledged. It conveyed a tract of land two miles wide on the each side of the Wescustogo and all its branches from its source to its mouth. It practically covered the territory of New Gloucester. Under this title the first mills at North Yarmouth was built. In a few years Bartholemew Gydney of Salem, became possessor of the title and it was his heirs of whom they stood in fear, as appears by the recorded votes of the proprietors in 1739 and 1741. Their

mettle is apparent by the following votes: "Voted that if any of the Proprietors be arrested by Col. Gydney's heirs, the whole society shall bear equal portion of cost of lawsuit," and again, "voted to send for Esq. Powell of York, and Proprietors of North Yarmouth to assist them in a lawsuit with Gydney's Heirs." Suit was commenced against the proprietors of North Yarmouth in 1733, to recover this vast tract of land deeded by the Indian sagamores in 1673, said to contain about a hundred thousand acres of land.

The settlement of North Yarmouth began about a century prior to that of New Gloucester. Twice, at least, before the latter settlement began it was entirely destroyed by the Indians and lay desolate for many years. Its settlers were brave, determined men, and the spoiling of their homes had not broken their indomitable resolution for the defense of their rights in the land that had already cost them such an oblation of blood, and they grappled with an energy, born of a determination to win, the claimants, in a legal fight that lasted fifteen years, and after repeated failures, at last, in 1748, their persistent efforts were crowned with success, judgment being rendered in their favor. Thus was the ghostly deed of the Indians buried beyond the possibility of a resurrection. The New Gloucester proprietors' paid a portion of the expense of the long litigation.

I am indebted to the "History of North Yarmouth" by Edward Russell, Esq., for matter relating to this noted lawsuit.

To the menace of the Gydney heirs was added the fear of losing their township in another way, perhaps more vexatious than the first. Six years had elapsed since their grant had been made and they had not complied with its conditions. A few of the proprietors, under the stimulous of a bounty, had built log houses on the slope of Harris Hill but no attempt had been made towards a meeting-house. They "vote to ask of the General Court for longer time to fulfil the conditions of the grant" and in 1744, vote to build a log meeting-house 35 x 25 x 10 feet stud. The next five years, from 1744 to 1749, are a blank in the records; during these years the wild war-whoop resounded through the forests of New Gloucester. The settlers are called off by government and the elements complete the work of destruction. In 1749, they vote again to petition the General Court "for longer time, as soon as there shall be peace with the Indians." The petition is dated November 20, 1752. In it they set forth that "they have been at the charge of about thirty pounds a Right — as money was in 1743 — amounting in the whole to 1800 L — and that they have cut and cleared a road twelve miles — built nineteen bridges and a sawmill, cleared some acres of land, sowed Rye and Turnips and other things. Been ordered off from said lands by the commanding officer at North Yarmouth and are afraid to settle on said land by reason of the war with the Indians, but are determined to complete the settlement." At their next meeting, April 11, 1753, the following is entered at the end of the record: "News

from the General Court for a longer time to go on with the settlement, viz. 18 months." Cheering news, no doubt, to these men who would not succumb to adverse circumstances. Vigorous measures were immediately taken to forward the settlement by voting "Mr. John Roberts to take care of building a meeting-house and see it done by the last of November next." Voted to add three more feet to the height of it, making it "thirteen feet stud," employ "four men to build it at three shillings per day from going on board till they have the work and allow three days pay for coming home." They warned delinquents "that unless they paid their 'behindments' their rights would be exposed for sale," and voted a tax of ten pounds old tenor on each right and offered very liberal inducements to settlers.

In the spring of 1754, their church was finished. They called it alternately a meeting-house and a block-house. It served for a fort, a church and a town-house for eighteen years, or until the First Parish church was built in 1772. As long as the Indians were hostile it was their home. They at once garrisoned it with a force of six soldiers with James Proctor of Woburn as captain, voting "20 lbs of powder and 3-4 (75 lbs.) lead," and voting to "the first ten settlers after to-day, July 10, 1754, twenty pounds old tenor on demand, twenty more on the tenth of next, twenty pounds the tenth to come twelve months. It is to be understood that settlers perform the Court Act (except settling a minister) in two years from the date hereof." Not until 1759, did the settlement get

strong enough to warrant any attempt by the proprietors looking toward a settled minister and only then they voted "that the committee look out and agree with a man to preach at New Gloucester once a month," and again two years later they "voted the the committee provide a Minister for New Gloucester for three or six months." The next year, 1762, they "voted a tax of twenty shillings L. M. for the support of a Minister." In January, 1764, they chose a new ministerial committee, viz.: John Stinchfield and John Tufts to "look out after a Minister to preach at New Gloucester as a probationer." In May following they "voted Samuel Eaton a call to settle in the work of the ministry, and voted him eighty pounds annual salary receiving silver at 6 per ounce and to rise according to the depreciation of money and fall accordingly so long as he continues in the work of the ministry, and also voted to give him one hundred pounds settlement, to be paid in boards, clapboards, shingles and other things suitable for his buildings together with our labor." For some unknown cause Mr. Eaton did not settle at New Gloucester and on October eleventh, they "voted to give Mr. Samuel Foxcroft a call" on the same terms as extended to Eaton. Mr. Foxcroft accepted, and on December 24, 1764, they "voted John Sawyer, Jonathan Tyler and William Harris a committee to provide all things suitable for ordination of Mr. Samuel Foxcroft to the Pastoral charge and care of the Church and people at New Gloucester," and "voted to raise a tax of twenty six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence L. M. to

defray the charges of said ordination. Voted Jabez True, John Tufts and Daniel Merrill be a committee to send letters missive to neighboring churches to assist in the ordination. Agreed upon the ordination be upon the sixteenth day of January next, which was accordingly performed. Isaac Parsons, Clerk."

This was an epochal year in the annals of the new town. They had fully complied with the grant requirements by clearing land, building a schoolhouse and settling a minister. It would be invidious in their descendants of to-day to speak the slightest word of censure against what may seem to us incongruous in the celebration of this, to them, momentous and joyous event. It was the consummation of long deferred hopes, the beginning of the era of better and more prosperous years. If the spirit of conviviality ran so high as to cause some of the visiting ministers, as Parson Smith says, "to lose sight of decorum," the date and the event will throw sweet charity's broad veil over the scene and garland the memory of the actors.

Mr. Foxcroft ministered to the church and people for twenty-eight years, his church for the first eight years being the blockhouse, then, during the rest of his ministry at the First Parish church, which was about three years in building so as to be occupied but not completely finished until 1798, the proprietors holding their first meeting in it February 15, 1773, and "upon further and more deliberate consideration, voted that the Porch be built at the North East end of the meetinghouse that was formerly voted to be built on the front."

From a sketch of this church and its surroundings, made while it was standing, and loaned the writer by Mr. Peleg Chandler of New Gloucester, it appears that this arrangement was carried out and the prospective "Steple" with tower and stairs was built on the southwest end of the house, and thus with the side entrance, giving three ways of ingress and egress. Several other changes were made before it was soundly orthodox in the estimation of its puritanic builders. They "agreed to have twenty-six windows under the beams and plates. Agreed they should be six squares of glass eight by ten inches and the stuff for the middle of the sashes to be an inch and an eighth and half an eighth square, good measure when wrought." The "Pew ground" embraced a space sufficient for ninety-five pews, thirty-eight of which were in the galleries. The number of votes taken on the arrangement of the pews show that they, with the "singers seats" were a vexatious matter and a consideration of much importance. One of the adjustments required "that there be an inch taken out of each of the three pews on each hand of the Deacon seats." Another iron-clad vote required each pew owner to build his own pew but they must "all be built alike as to form of them and with banisters." The records contain the names of the sixty-three subscribers to this church and also the ninety-five names of those who "bid off" the "pew ground." The ownership of this house was largely vested in the proprietors, who, in 1802 relinquished all their rights and title to the First Parish, only reserving "the right to hold town meetings in it and the privilege of the

common about it for a training field and Pound, &c." The &c undoubtedly meant the stocks and whipping-post, which all good, loyal towns were expected to have, and which are remembered by some aged citizens of the town now living. The old church, in 1838, gave place to the present edifice on the same site.

It is not possible in imagination to cross the threshhold of this antique church without paying tribute to its godly pastor who, for so many formative years of the town, ministered to the whole people in holy things, and conduced so much toward that high moral tone that has always been its prominent characteristic.

The influence of that sturdy morality which he inculcated, the sharp corners of rugged puritanism rounded off and softened by the flight of more than a century, to-day is an heirloom of the town, whose remembrance is as a grateful perfume, or as "ointment poured forth."

The blockhouse fell into disuse after the church was built, the proprietors holding the last meeting in it in 1772. In 1788, the thrifty proprietors set it up at auction, "and it was struck off to Capt. John Woodman for seven bushels of merchantable corn."

Capt. Woodman's utilitarian instincts evidently were greater than his esthetic tastes, and he moved the once honored relic down to his home by the river-side and converted it into a hoghouse. A few of its hewn planks were rescued from oblivion and a piece of one is now in the custody of this Society. The well-defined cellar yet marks the initial spot of New Gloucester. A granite monument ere long will

undoubtedly mark the spot to perpetuate the memories that cluster about it and keep green the names of those brave men who had the courage of their convictions.

The proprietors took vigorous measures to develop the industrial possibilities of the town by encouraging manufacturers to locate saw- and grist-mills and a "fulling" or "clothiers" mill on the mill privilege on Royalls River, "voting to reserve the privilege of making a Dam at the outlet of, and flowing Sabada Pond the height of four feet."

They, in 1790, made the seventh and last division of township rights and lots, and in 1802 they "voted that Capt. Nathaniel Coit Allen (he, it is said, was a slaveholder, the only one in town) be an assistant clerk under oath, with whom may be deposited the original returns of the survey of the several divisions of land in the town and also a new plan of the several divisions, Roads &c and that the standing committee see to the getting new plats or plans made as soon as may be and see what papers or copies of Records and draughts may be necessary to be lodged with the new assistant clerk and lodge them accordingly that the Proprietors may have a double security with respect to their Records against any accident that may happen by fire or otherwise."

On May 20, 1807, the proprietors closed their last recorded business meeting. It is followed by "a list of the original Rights of Lots of the Township of New Gloucester drawn at Old Gloucester, Feb., 1737, and to whom sold." Also, "a table of all the Lots laid out and drawn in the Township of New Gloucester."

In 1774, the proprietors petitioned the General Court for an incorporation of the town, which was granted, and on September seventh, of this year, was held the first town meeting and another set of records commenced by Nathaniel Eveleth, who for forty-two consecutive years kept the town records in a manner so correct, minute, painstaking, and withal in such a plainly written hand that it is a pleasure and delight to read them. The veteran clerk at the annual March meeting of 1816, declined being a candidate for longer service, and the meeting voted unanimously as follows : —

Whereas, Nathaniel Eveleth, having declined being considered as a candidate for the office of town clerk, voted unanimously that the town tender to Capt. Nathaniel Eveleth their respectful acknowledgements and cordial thanks for his faithful and impartial services as town clerk from the act of incorporation of the town to the present day, and they wish him in his voluntary retirement in the evening of his days to be assured that he carries with him the ardent prayers and the best wishes of the town for his health and happiness.

Up to 1774, he had served the proprietors as collector for eleven years, making the perhaps unparalleled record of continuous town service of fifty-three years.

Few towns can boast of so full, well written, complete and carefully preserved records as New Gloucester. Evidently everything that came into the hands of its careful clerk was not only put on record, but carefully filed away as the hundreds of packages mutely testify. Among these old yellow scraps of unruled paper written closely in fine hand, minus a

margin, may be found many a bonbon, sweet to the taste of the antiquarian. I quote one for its historical value. It is an inventory of the town's wealth in 1781.

A Copy of New Gloucester Valuation 1781, as on the Common Wealth Book.

		Value of Property		Income.	
156	Polls				
80	Houses	25/		87	10
75	Barns	18/		67	10
10	Stores &c	6/		3	10
3	Distill Houses or Mills &c	50/		7	10
1027	Acres of English Mowing	8/		410	16
———	Barrels of Cyder			—	—
600	Acres of Tillage Land	6/		180	0
34	Acres of Salt or fresh Meadow	6/		10	4
1100	Acres of Pastering	2/		110	
18034	Acres of Wood and unimproved land	6/		108	4
	Money on hand and on interest			—	—
	Amount of Goods, Wares and Merchandise			—	—
60	Horses	6 L	360 0 0		
152	Oxen	7 L	1064 0 0		
273	Cows	4 L	1092 0 0		
	Other horned cattle		— — —		
587	Sheep and Goats	6/	176 2 0		
91	Swine	12	54 12 0		
	Coaches, Chairs &c		— — —		
	Income &c		— — —		
	Ounces of Gold Coined or not coined		— — —		
	Ounces of Silver coined or not coined		21 0 0	166	1
			L	1150	15 0

A true copy taken by
Isaac Parsons.

Among New Gloucester's early settlers were many men of a marked personality. They left their impress in indelible characters on the community in which they moved, and exerted an influence far-reaching. It was good blood that settled the town, and until to-day it has never been lacking in able men to worthily represent it in all departments of human affairs.

Some reminiscences of a few persons prominent in the early history of the town may be of interest.

John Stenchfield (later spelled Stinchfield) was one of the four men sent to build the blockhouse in 1753-54. He was a proprietor, and with his sons John, Jr., and William made three of the twelve men who composed the garrison of the blockhouse from 1754 to 1760.

John Stinchfield, Jr., in 1759, married Mehitable Winship of Windham. They had nine children of whom Ephraim was the eldest, being born in New Gloucester, February 11, 1761. When seventeen years of age he enlisted in the Revolutionary war and was in the service three years. In 1792, he began to preach and was baptized by Eld. Benjamin Randall. In 1798, he was ordained to the work of the ministry, receiving the following certificate : —

This may certify whom it may concern, that Ephraim Stinchfield of New Gloucester, a regular member of the Antipedo Baptist Religious Society of New Gloucester and Gray, was on November 5, 1798, publicly and regularly ordained to preach the Gospel and administer its ordinances in the same or elsewhere, where God in his providence may call.

Peltiah Tingly. Clerk
Benj. Randall
John Buzzell Ordaining Elders.

New Gloucester is ably represented in the clergy. She has sent forth men that occupy a high place in their chosen field of work, esteemed for their genuine piety, honored for their erudition and eloquence. Her first native minister was Eld. Ephraim Stinchfield, son of John Stinchfield, Jr., son of John, who helped build the town's garrison meeting-house, a coincidence that seems entirely appropriate. He was a man of marked individuality, possessed of a liberal endowment of native common sense, active of intellect and of robust physique and stentorian voice, he stood before an audience a presence of power to move the emotions and touch the passions. With glowing pathos he poured forth untutored eloquence with a power that made men tremble, and weep, and fall down under his mighty word. The rough shaft he hurled went straight to the heart of his hearer. He was an itinerant preacher in the full sense of the word, preaching in schoolhouse, barn or wherever he could find an audience. His work extended almost over the entire state and a part of New Hampshire and Massachusetts. There were few or no towns in Maine or the island settlements which he did not visit, and in many places formed the nucleus of a Free-will Baptist church. His ministry covered a period of about thirty years, but was not continuous. He was another John the Baptist, if the number of times he administered this rite is allowed as proof. In eleven years from the date of his first baptism he had baptized one thousand persons, the whole number up to his last in 1830, amounting to eleven hundred and

seventy-four. His records of baptisms with names and dates show that he baptized in every month of the year, and they were all by immersion in stream or pond. In one December the ordinance of baptism was administered eight different times and several times in the months of January, February and March.

In 1806, he baptized at Kittery seventy persons, one a woman, in the month of November, aged ninety-five years.

From an autobiography published in 1818, entitled, "Some Memoirs of the Life, Experience and Travels of Elder Ephraim Stinchfield," a few extracts in his own words will reveal the character of the man and throw light on the customs of society of that date. At a baptism in the town of Bristol in 1799, he says:—

> I built a pulpit of drift wood in a beautiful cove on the seashore at Bristol. A boats crew of twelve men came from Pemaquid. Before the sermon was ended the people began to fall before the word. All but one who came in the boat were struck under conviction for their souls. I prepared for the ordinance, and attended to it until I had baptized forty-one, during which time the shouts of glory from the young converts on the shore, the rejoicing of the old saints, and the cries of mercy among the wounded sinners made it seem as it were, as if the Day of Pentecost had again come.

His power of song was as potent as his preaching. Meeting a young lady on his way to a schoolhouse to preach in the town of Camdem, he says "I sung to her the following hymn:"

> Stop, poor sinner, stop and think,
> Before you further go —
> Will you sport upon the brink
> Of everlasting woe?

Hell beneath is gaping wide:
Vengeance waits the dread command
Soon to stop your sport and pride,
And sink you with the damm'd.

CHORUS.

O be entreated now to stop
For unless you warning take,
Ere you are aware you'll drop
Into the burning lake.

He adds, "I baptized her before I left town."

In the year 1806, he says, "I preached 463 sermons in my way, baptized 58 and traveled about 3000 miles" In 1808: —

Tarried with the people of Lincolnville about two months and baptized no less than 87 persons. Meetings were held once, twice, or thrice every day. Sometimes commenced at ten in the morning and lasted until ten in the evening. One week the house was not clear of the people for the whole time. I preached during the week fifteen times and baptized twenty-eight. About the happiest week of my life.

From 1811 to 1823, he was prevented from "traveling abroad" from a variety of circumstances, "except occasionally," although he made a shift at home and abroad to preach between two and three hundred sermons annually." He published some works on religious subjects, besides his autobiography and left considerable unpublished manuscript.

He died August 18, 1837, aged seventy-six years. He was greatly respected, and at the funeral services such a throng assembled that they were held on the lawn fronting his residence.

Another pronounced individuality of the town was Col. Isaac Parsons. In many respects he was the

most remarkable man of the town. He came from Gloucester, Massachusetts, in 1761, when twenty-one years of age. The next year he built a substantial frame house with gambrel roof, which is still standing to-day. Eleven years later he built the best house outside of Portland, in Cumberland County, now the residence of Charles P. Haskell, Esq. In 1763, he was chosen clerk for the proprietors, which office he held until the termination of the proprietary, forty-four years, as already noted. To his quick apprehension, shrewd and observant foresight, the whole state is indebted, as the following certificate shows : —

> This may certify, that Isaac Parsons, Esq., first introduced the practise of raising Indian Corn in this country on new burnt ground without hoeing, and brought the same into practise in the years 1762 & 3.
>
> Nath'l Eveleth. John Megguire. James Stinchfield.

He says, "I hired some and persuaded others to adopt my method, which becoming known proved a greater encouragement to the settling of Maine than any one thing except the withdrawing of the Indians."

He died October 9, 1825, aged eighty-five. His religious convictions were deep, intense, abiding, and of a rugged Puritan type. He early identified himself with the church and has left on record a paper he calls a "covenant" that for profoundness and completeness of consecration is perhaps unequaled. It has never been made public and I am indebted to the courtesy of one of his descendants for a copy of this remarkable covenant and consecration, which reads as follows : —

Eternal & ever blessed God, I desire to present myself before thee with the deepest humiliation & abasement of soul, sensible how unworthy such a sinful worm is to appear before the Holy Majesty of Heaven, the King of Kings & Lord of Lords, & especially on such an occasion as this even to covenant with thee. But the scheme & plan is thine own. Thine infinite condescension hath offered it by thy Son, & thy grace hath inclined my heart to accept of it. I come, therefore, acknowledging myself to have been a great offender, smiting my breast & saying with the humble Publican, God be merciful to me a sinner. I come invited by the name of thy Son, & wholly trusting in his perfect Righteousness, entreating that for His sake thou wilt be merciful to my unrighteousness & wilt no more remember my sins. Receive, I beseech thee thy revolted creature who is now convinced of thy right to him and desires nothing so much as that he may be thine. This day do I, with the utmost solemnity, surrender myself to thee. I renounce all, all former Lords that have had dominion over me, and I consecrate to thee all that I am and all that I have, the faculties of my mind, the members of my body, my worldly possessions, my time and my influence over others, to be all used entirely for thy Glory, & resolutely employed in obedience to thy commands as long as thou continuest me in life: with an ardent desire & humble resolution to continue thine throughout all the endless ages of Eternity, ever holding myself in an attentive posture to observe the first intimation of thy will, & ready to spring forward with zeal and joy to the immediate execution of it, to thy direction also I resign myself and all I am and have to be disposed of by thee, in such a manner as thou shalt see in thine infinite wisdom to judge most subservient to the purposes of thy Glory. To thee I leave the management of all events & say without reserve, "Not my will but thine be done," rejoicing with a loyal heart in thine unlimited government as what ought to be the delight of the whole rational creation. Use me O Lord I beseech thee as an instrument in thy service, number me among thy peculiar people, let me be washed in the blood of thy dear Son, let me be clothed with his righteousness, let me be sanctified by His spirit. Transform me more & more into his image. Impart to me through Him all needed influences of thy purifying cheering and comforting spirit, and let my life be spent under those influences and in the light of thy countenance as my Father and my God. And when the solemn hour of death approaches may I re-

member this covenant well ordered in all things and sure, as all my salvation and all my hope desire, though every other hope and enjoyment is perishing: and do thou, O Lord, remember it too. Look down in pity, O my heavenly Father, on thy languishing child, embrace me in thine everlasting arms, put strength and confidence into my departing spirit and receive it to the abodes of them that sleep in Jesus. Peacefully and joyfully to wait the accomplishment of the great promise to all thy people, even that of a glorious resurrection and eternal happiness in thine heavenly presence. And if any surviving friend should when I am in the dust meet with this memorial of my solemn transaction with Thee, may he make the engagement his own, and do thou graciously admit him to partake in all the blessings of thy covenant through Jesus the great mediator of it to whom, with thee O Father, and thy Holy Spirit, be everlasting praises in whose work, and blessedness, thou shalt cause them to share. Amen.

Isaac Parsons, Jr.

New Gloucester, March 18th, 1765.

Col. Parsons was a representative man of the age, a born leader of men, "a man of culture and influence, very precise, very correct, and very honest." His methodical trait, pronounced through life, was emphasized at death, his will providing that he should be laid between his four wives, two on each side, with a marble stone a little higher than theirs, which were of slate (his fifth wife survived him and was buried elsewhere) and the following characteristic epitaph be placed upon his tombstone: —

Imbued in early life with holy principle, he loved his God and country but his anchor was in heaven. O death, could the tenderness of a bosom friend, the entreaties of well directed children, or the affection of a beloved church, have diverted thine arrow, it had not yet found its victim: but one day the Christians Leader shall launch an unerring dart at thee.

EARLY MINISTRY ON THE KENNEBEC.

BY REV. HENRY O. THAYER, A. M.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, November 22, 1895.

ROBERT GUTCH, THE PIONEER.

The emigrant colonists to New England had been so trained by the practise or beliefs of their fathers, by statutes and events, by claims of conscience or by impulses of a hearty devotion, that they held religious teaching and observances imperatively necessary or very desirable. There were indeed some — rough fishermen, heartless adventurers, vagabond products of ill social conditions — who "feared not God and regarded not man." The greater part believed in and sincerely favored religious institutions in some form and early sought to establish them. Religious movements, therefore, in the period of settlement in that great valley, whose lake fountains, brooks and springs, pour their waters into the Atlantic at ancient Sagadahoc, furnish valuable pages to our Maine history.

The distinction of the rivers Kennebec and Sagadahoc anciently made by English tongues ceased after a century, and the aboriginal Kinnebeki was extended to the sea, and now Sagadahoc only appears in occasional historical use. This paper deals with events in the district of the Sagadahoc, though employing the the modern name.

No mention is here required of the Popham colony, though a witness to Englishmen's regard for divine worship. Indeed, then and in subsequent decades, events which exhibit the fact or the form of religious attention and activity had but a fragmentary record. Traces of the earliest Protestant worship in the Kennebec valley, after Popham, seem to be wholly effaced. It is a fair presumption that during the occupation by the men of Plymouth some religious services were held in their fort at Cushnoc, conducted by such men as the Winslows, Alden or Southworth. Similar ministrations may have been afforded to fishermen and farmers in the Sagadahoc district, or even occasional preaching by a chance visitor.

The Jesuits were the first to come with a religious purpose. No priest accompanied Champlain in his visit in 1605, but when M. de Biancourt, in 1611, came hither from Port Royal for grain, Father Pierre Biard shared in the voyage with the distinct purpose commending his missionary zeal, "to see the disposition of those nations to receive the gospel." No religious ceremonial was observed here, though a festival day required the mass when the party was at the Sheepscot; but at an anchorage for a night, about two miles below where the city of Bath now is, an impromptu sacred concert was given by the Frenchmen at their superstitious priest's request, as a pious shield against the baleful influence of the supposed incantations in the yells, harangues, dance and orgies of a company of savages on shore. Perhaps then for the

first time, on the Kennebec, were chanted the *Salve* and various hymns of the church — sacred words of Christian meaning. Next secular songs enlivened the still night, imitated by the natives, and joined with answering mimicry and hooting, echoed back and forth between savage and civilized, so that the religious and decorous in the end were turned into the ludicrous and hideous.[1]

No missionary work was attempted by Jesuits or others so far as known till 1646, when Gabriel Dreuilletes came and ministered for a time to the natives in a rude chapel which they built for him a league above the fort of the Plymouth men at Cushnoc. Some thirty-three miles below the mission station and in the shore line of the city of Bath is a projection named from a former owner — Clapp's Point. Tradition has told that anciently it was Friar's Point, a name suggestive of past events of which it alone gives evidence.

Possibly Dreuilletes had here a bark hut for temporary sojourn when visiting the lower Kennebec and seeking to win the men of Robin Hood ; or possibly Capuchin monks constructed a rude domicile and prosecuted their work for a time among the Wawenocks.[2]

[1] Carayon, p. 64, translation by Prof. F. M. Warren, in our Society's collections, 1891, p. 419.

[2] Charlevoix, Vol. I., p. 435 — repeated by Shea's Catholic Missions, p. 135, says the Capuchins had a hospice on the Kennebec and welcomed Dreuilletes on his first journey. This, however, is not supported by the narrative of Lalemant [Jesuit Relations 1647] for it was plainly at Penobscot that Father St. Ignatius of Paris, and his Capuchins received the zealous missionary. Still, slight evidence [Historical Magazine, Vol. VIII.] creates a presumption that some of these monks tarried for a time at Kennebec either preceding Dreuilletes or when his brief sojourn closed.

Even Sebastian Rasles, during the expulsion of the English, may have come hither from his Narantsauk Station and gathered and instructed his neophytes on this inviting point where, during a century and more past, have been built fleets of coasters and have towered masts of merchant leviathans. But "Friar's Point" conceals history we would gladly read.

AN IMMIGRANT FAMILY.

The year 1650 will mark approximately a manifest increase in the tide of immigration which, unto many points from the sea to Teconnet, brought in new occupants — farmers, lumbermen, fishermen, traders. Within a few years previous to this date and in the decade following, a large part of the land purchases from the Indians were made. English immigrants or their sons, who had located in the oldest towns of Massachusetts, were taken up and borne on hither by an eastward wave to seek new homes. These constituted the larger part of the adult population previous to Philip's war.

Among these one name for a time stood out in prominence, and esteem is rightly due in the dimness of the distance and of the facts for honorable position and usefulness of the man, Robert Gutch. His name is first discovered in the records of the town of Salem and in its first decade. He received in November, 1637, a grant of a half acre of land near Winter Harbor.[1] Again the authorities vote him in 1645, a small

[1] Now known as Winter Island. Essex Institute Collections, 1862, p. 118.

piece of marsh which lay at the end of his ten-acre lot. Such land ownership indicates a farmer possessed of a freeman's right in the Salem colony. The land first granted was situated "by his father Holgrave's" (or Howlegrave), who, it appears, was his father-in-law, and subsequently moved to Casco Bay.

It is assumed that on this lot he built his house and made for his wife Lydia Holgrave, a home near her father. Of the date of marriage or of the arrival from England of the two families, I learn nothing. In a single incidental mention of Mr. Gutch, I find reasons to believe that he came from Wincanton, a town in the southeast of Somersetshire.[1]

I regret that research in English records has not been possible, yet I have found this name of several families in Glastonbury, fifteen miles from Wincanton. Here in the church of St. John the Baptist, a John Gutch was minister in the time of the commonwealth, dying at the close of 1657.[2]

The name of Robert Gutch appears in the membership of the first church of Salem, to which he was admitted in 1641. The same records show the baptism of his children, seven in number, in the years from 1641 to 1654. One other daughter is not included in the list.[3]

[1] A deposition taken in 1682 (Essex County Records) states that one Hugh Jones came from England above thirty years since, that he came from Vincanton and was servant to Mr. Robert Gutch and his sister. Unless "above thirty years" was so indefinite as to include a dozen more, the date will be about 1650, and will show a journey back to England when a sister returned with him of whom nothing further is known. I must regard this person as the Robert Gutch of Salem, and not a later arrival.

[2] Issue of the Glastonbury Antiquarian Society, 1891, and letter of its President.

[3] Felt's Annals of Salem, p. 555, Essex Institute Collections, 1864, p. 238.

THE MAN, SETTLER AND CITIZEN AT KENNEBEC.

After this introduction a dozen years go by when he is disclosed enlarging his possessions, as many a man has done, by adding mortgages to house and land in 1651-52. Evidences of financial embarrassment in ensuing years create a presumption that he found himself in such financial straits as precluded reasonable hope of escape, and therefore, on best terms he could make, surrendered his home and moved on into the wilderness to begin anew.

He witnessed a deed at Pemaquid, in 1657,[1] a single trace of a transient or extended sojourn in the east, possibly while prospecting for a home.

Two and a half years later he purchases land situated on the Kennebec River, the conveyance of which was formally executed May 29, 1660, by five Indian "Sagamores," Robine Hoode being chief.[2] The price was concealed under the phrase, "for divers considerations moving thereunto." Payments for neighboring tracts of land were, in one case "one hogshead of corn and thirty pumpions," in another, "one beaver skin and a bushel of corn yearly rent, and a quart of liquor" each Christmas. Hence we cannot think Mr. Gutch was hard pressed to make payments. A change it was, from being the hard-pressed owner in Salem of a dozen acres, to become the free proprietor of four thousand acres at Kennebec.

[1] Suffolk Deeds, Book III., p. 50.

[2] York Deeds, Book II., folio 63. This sagamore's name is written variously, but usually Robinhood, as in an early sale of land, 1648 — "I Ramegin soe called by my Indian name or Robinhood soe called by my English name." — Plymouth Records. Another conveyance by him, the earliest known, uses a different native name, Mowhotiwormet, but has Robinhood in the signature. Ramegin is elsewhere Rawmeagon.

The lands to which he gained such title as the native lords could give, lay on the western side of Long Reach in the Kennebec, twelve miles from the sea, and now mostly fall within the area of the city of Bath, and such has been the distribution of business and population that a very large part of the city's wealth, its manufactories, shipyards, its varied traffic, public buildings, churches, mansions of the rich and ordinary dwellings of the people, are situated upon those acres. A cove at the north — Harwards — another at the south, a short distance above some rocks once called the Jiggles, but latterly Trufant's Ledges, mark permanently the boundaries on the river. The distance from north to south on a right line across streets and wharves in the business front of the city is two and one-eighth miles. The tract extended back by estimation three miles, or to the next estuary, New Meadows River. Adjacent on the south was land conveyed by the same sagamores to Alexander Thwait on the previous day. The cove [1] was the common boundary and the two estates were divided by a westerly line adjusted by mutual agreement of the purchasers, who sign as witnesses each the other's deed. Also in the rear of Thwait's land lay another portion of Gutch's purchase but its extent and bounds cannot be traced and it soon passed into other hands.

The removal of Mr. Gutch from Salem to the Kennebec is alone indicated by the date of the purchase, the spring of 1660. He may have moved his family a year or more before, or lived a while at Pemaquid.

[1] Marked by Messrs. Houghton's shipyard, and by Messrs. Donnell's ropewalk burnt in 1890.

Two sites have been assigned for his house by tradition, but neither has but slight claim to certainty because of change and rebuilding consequent upon the wars. It was surely a rude, humble home at convenient access to the water and having its outlook upon the shaded or gleaming Kennebec, yet delightful views were esteemed of little worth since life in that new, harsh beginning meant hard work to gain subsistence and open the way to better years. John, the eldest of the family, was about twenty years old, able-handed, we presume, to "lift up the axe upon the thick trees," where perhaps not one had ever been felled; a little girl of three or four was the youngest of seven daughters, if so many still lived who would aid to advance the family fortnnes. A hard working man by the necessities of the case, was this Kennebec pioneer.

A fragmentary but suggestive view of Mr. Gutch in public relations is furnished us by the Yorkshire records. When Charles II. made his feeble attempt in 1665, to establish his royal authority in Gorges' Province of Maine, his commissioners, or probably their deputy, made demand for submission upon the inhabitants of the last district eastward, then without a name save "the Western Side of Kennebec River." Twenty-two men took the oath of allegiance and supremacy on September eighth. The name of Robert Gutch heads the list, and the fact has worth to suggest his social prominence, or possibly, leadership. He is then empowered by that royal authority to administer the same oath to others of whom it should be

required — which honor may be claimed as a testimony to his high standing, whatever sometimes was the character of the king's officers. Nor must it be held a blemish that at this time, September 12, 1665, he, and four others of his townsmen likewise, gained the legal right under bonds to retail liquors. In the next year he, and his recent neighbor Thwait, were drawn jurors in a murder trial held at court at Casco. Also, in this year, 1666, he was appointed administrator on the estate of John Howlegrave of Falmouth, who, we infer, was his wife's father.

So much alone appears in contemporary records, exhibiting his public duties and position — a mere glimpse of him as a citizen upholding government and law, trustworthy and honored.

There was little friendliness between the New England colonists and Charles Stuart, but to sign the name in acceptance of the king's government at Kennebec did not prove Robert Gutch a hearty and subservient royalist, nor declare him out of sympathy with the men of Massachusetts, who now feared the abridgment or loss of their self-government. One can indeed read into that signature and service, royalist, and by implication, Anglican. But we can as well read attachment to order and law. First rose the question of government where there had been none; endorsement of the king's colonial policy was another matter. It was to Mr. Gutch's credit that he ranged himself on the side of lawful authority. His course savored of good citizenship, and it was duty also for him to serve his king. His opinions or motives we cannot know.

The next stage in the known history of the man is brief and is the last. Less than a year passed after his services in the court at Casco when a new entry places his name again in the record, viz.: letters of administration granted to Mrs. Lydia Gouch on the estate of her husband Robert Gouch deceased. To his public duties and usefulness suddenly the end had come. The record shows the widow's bondsmen were Capt. Edmund Patteshall and George Munjoy. For their security she made over to them her deceased husband's estate.

The date of the session when these matters transpired is not shown, but it was previous to September, for the inventory of the estate by the appraisers Christopher Lawson and Edmund Patteshall was dated September 25, 1667. It was presented in court certified by required oath October fourth. No place of residence of the deceased is included in the records But aside from the familiar names, all the persons having part in the administration are Kennebec residents except Munjoy of Casco. There is no place for a question respecting identity. The date of his death can only be determined approximately, depending on the frequency of the courts, and the immediate action of the administrator. If the court sessions were monthly and if Mrs. Gutch presented the inventory as ordered at the next session after her appointment, then she was appointed in September, and her husband's death, if reported to the court at the first following session, would have occurred in August. If, however, there was delay in either step, or the courts

were bimonthly, the death would be put back to July or June. We will therefore write the date, the summer of 1667.[1]

Death was caused by drowning, as unvarying tradition has told, but the place or the occasion are involved in doubt. One account tells of the capsizing of his boat while crossing Long Reach. Another declares that he was drowned by missing the way at a fording-place between Arrowsic and Parker's Islands, that he was on horseback and his wife also lost her life.[2] The drowning of Mrs. Gutch, of which this tradition retains details, is manifest error, and grave suspicion arises in respect to such a cause of drowning for much horseback riding in that period was improbable since such is the topography — the rivers, many creeks, extensive marshes — that without the present complement of ferries and bridges, a horse could travel but a few miles except by long detours. People whom Mr. Gutch wished to visit would have been reached far more easily and expeditiously by boat, which even now is a common method of travel of many people living near those waterways.[3]

[1] More painstaking search may attain accuracy. The records of various sessions were not all entered in chronological order, and in places are obscure.

[2] Christian Mirror, March 10, 1888.

[3] Past historical notices of Mr. Gutch in many works assign his death to 1679. This date was probably an inference. In respect to the legal title to his estate certain aged persons deposed that so many years ago they lived at Kennebec and knew him or family, or lived with him; by which apparently he was alive in 1674, or in 1678. These depositions were intended to show heirship of descendants who had sold their rights, and the deponents seem to designate the latest years of their residence there without distinguishing sharply a similar date for Mr. Gutch. Indeed, it may have been regarded as policy not to mention the date of his death, but to allow residence of members of the family, himself included, to prove possession of the lands in defense of title. Those depositions in 1724, 1734, 1744, indefinite or equivocal, must be interpreted consistently with the probate records which are beyond assail.

HIS MINISTRY.

Nothing in records or documents of the period indicate it. We should have been wholly ignorant of the fact but for inquiry into land titles in the following century. Sale of the lands and the great lawsuit respecting them [1] revealed his ministerial character. In depositions by his daughter and granddaughter, he is styled "Rev. Mr. Gutch" and "minister at Kennebeck." [2] Jonathan Preble who came to the river in 1716, and gained knowledge of events in the previous century and had acquaintance with some of Mr. Gutch's descendants, testified that he was often told that Gutch had been a preacher to the fishermen and was drowned near a hundred years previous.[3]

Jabez Bradbury conversant with the river and people after 1716, deposed that he had often heard of Mr. Gutch, the minister, and that there was a meeting-house somewhere on Long Reach in his day. Such a place of worship is fully certified. Mr. Preble testified he had seen it, and indeed, it is well proved that it stood on land which he owned. His sons, and a neighbor equally informed, have pointed out the precise site to persons living. It stood at the extreme northwest point of Arrowsic Island, and nearly opposite across the river from Mr. Gutch's home. That Mr. Preble saw it proves that it stood unscathed

[1] Jeffries *vs.* Donnell, Lincoln County, 1764: — Superior Court, Falmouth, 1766. The court sustained the Gutch title, but the demandant appealed to the king in council, and was allowed a new trial on a single point of error in admission of evidence, but no step towards a trial was taken.

[2] York Deeds, Book XVI., fol. 109. Book xxiv., fol. 264.

[3] Williamson's Maine, Vol. II. p. 488. This testimony, if given at the trial in 1764 (not 1758), will closely certify the date of Mr. Gutch's death.

through three Indian wars, when the savages burned vindictively nearly every structure the white settler built in order to drive him out. Yet it is to their honor that they respected the place of worship. It is worthy of note that the land of this minister at Kennebec included "Friar's Point," whoever the man, or whatever may have been the hidden history, so nearly did the two men's work come together, though each did his own.

Questions will arise respecting his ministerial standing and work. Was he a minister regularly ordained? I strongly doubt it. He was a young man when he left England, though not too young to have had preparation for service in the ministry. If ordained and devoted to Episcopacy, Salem was a strange place for him, since there, says Bancroft, "they feared the adherents of the establishment as spies in the camp;" and a little faction who would retain the forms of the mother church were regarded seditious and in the persons of their leaders, the Brownes, Episcopacy was exiled. Surely Gutch, a half-dozen years later, did not enter Salem with these opinions, and yet soon enter the communion of the Salem church. Subsequent ordination would have been conferred on him in the colony only as a religious teacher of an existing church, of which there would have been record.

But it will be objected that lacking this authority the strict oversight by the berated and so-called intolerant Massachusetts would not permit him to exercise the ministerial function. Indeed, the right to silence any unordained person was affirmed in 1658.

But Mr. Gutch was in an incipient settlement, was without the bounds of ecclesiastical usage and law, and beyond the authority of magistrate or elders. There the opportunity and the urgent need would answer all questions respecting his right to preach the gospel. Indeed, we know that a successor was unordained. Hence in the large freedom of the wilderness where men are simply men not molded into systems, the wishes of the inhabitants, his own conscience and devotion wrote the proper certificate for him to do the work of an evangelist.

Of his ministry in its methods or extent we know nothing save that the house of worship denotes a regular assembly and such services as were possible. Meetings elsewhere in distant houses and garrisons, visitation, teaching, catechising, are probable. We assume a considerable portion of his time was applied to tilling his home acres in hard work for his family's subsistence; and if he made his evangelism free the service was not unrewarded for in New England, then, the religious teacher had no slight honor, and gifts to the voluntary and devoted laborer would not fail in the place of stipulated salary.

The denominational relations of Robert Gutch have been questioned in the interest of the early history of the several churches. Various opinions were expressed when little was known of him but the mere fact of his ministry. Now it is permitted to make more positive statements.

It was a hasty misapprehension of history which inferred that he was Presbyterian, and because many

Kennebec settlers were such.[1] Presbyterianism came into Maine with the Scotch-Irish a half-century after his death, and one of the earliest known churches in the colonies was only organized in 1684, at Snowhill, Maryland. A dozen years previous a few preachers and adherents were to be found in the adjacent states. Were he Presbyterian Mr. Gutch would have been there an advance pioneer by several decades and in New England a lone representative during that century. Likewise at the time of his immigration, in the general turmoil in England just preceding the commonwealth, in the strife of Puritan and churchman, the opposing aims of Independents and Presbyterians as the latter were seeking power and to become the national church, it would be wholly unexpected for a Presbyterian to make close affiliation with Puritans in Massachusetts.

To Episcopacy also has Mr. Gutch been assigned. This opinion will indeed bring him into connection with the church system introduced into Gorges' Province of Maine. But there were opposing elements and much indifferentism, and also various public interests tending towards alliance with Massachusetts, and in the progress of events a growing friendliness to her church system.

Before the removal of Mr. Gutch to the Kennebec, the ambitious Bay Colony had with drastic influence, brought the western towns under her authority, and Episcopacy was naturally restricted and waning. It must be questioned if that district at the extreme

[1] Maine Historical Collection, Vol. II. p. 205, and elsewhere.

boundary, styled "the western side of Kennebec," ever had close relations or any civil relations with the rest of the province. When King Charles set up his government, this narrow peninsula, or a portion of its inhabitants yielded to the summons whether by loyalty to him or by desire to have some form of government. A few men on the east of the river did the same by reporting at Sheepscot. Previously the two sides had been one in interest, untrammeled in their wild freedom by laws, courts or exactions. Their business relations had been chiefly with Boston and adjacent towns from which many had come, and their sympathies, we believe, largely tended that way, for it is by no means in evidence that the Kennebec had been peopled by cavaliers and by malecontents from Massachusetts.[1] There does not seem, therefore, to be such saturation of the soil by Episcopacy as to affect Robert Gutch. Still, if the new civil system in Charles' name had included religious observances, Mr. Gutch seems to be the man to be invited to take the charge. But the record has not a word respecting such matters, and they were doubtless passed over, though a religious constitution was issued at Sheepscot, on liberal principles.[2]

But previous to this date, it must be doubted if east of the Kennebec there were any services or any public heed to religion. Subsequently under "His Royal Highness," in a little measure, forms of worship were observed at Pemaquid, of course, Episcopal, and

[1] Many of the eastern people were strongly attached to her government, Williamson's Maine, Vol. I., p. 414.

[2] Sullivan, District Maine, p. 288.

at Sheepscot in 1683 the plan for a renewal of the settlement, stipulated for a meeting-house and a minister of their free choice as approved by the majority — quite a savor of independency.[1]

But in 1665, at Kennebec, we may doubt if there was half as much tendency to Anglican forms as to the freedom of worship in the Bay colony. Surroundings indeed, do not make the man, and we can neither deny to Mr. Gutch, nor assert of him, proclivity to the established church before or after settlement at Kennebec. Episcopal attachments must be read in between the lines if at all. Yet if the few facts showing his connection with the new government shall be construed as evidence that he had become a partisan of the Stuarts in that would arise slight reasons for thinking him turned toward Episcopacy.

On the contrary, evidence positive and weighty is drawn from his residence in Massachusetts. A home chosen and maintained among non-conformists and Independents at Salem, certifies to congenial opinions and similar aims in coming to New England. Membership in that church, in it the baptism and nurture of his children, with it fellowship continued a score of years, are strong points revealing hearty sympathy with its methods and spirit.

Enterprise or exigent business affairs removed him to the Kennebec. A change there into the communion of the established church, where there was no church, will be assumption gratuitous and unworthy.

[1] Maine Historical Collection, Vol. V., pp. 51, 79.

Nothing speaks for Episcopacy but the place, and that uncertainly and feebly; against it all his former life in New England, his religious relations and training.

Hence was Robert Gutch affiliated with early Congregationalism.[1] Sound evidence lies on that side: only conjectured possibilities on the other. In the spirit of free Congregationalism which by inherent life always adapts itself to conditions and needs, he entered on a Christian work. The wilderness gave him freedom far larger than in Salem; the clamps of a system were loosened; he was a Christian man among needy men, women and children who were living without religious instruction or influence. In the spirit of primitive evangelism he went forth to preach the gospel, asking leave neither of magistrate, elder, or prelate, and finding his authority in the great commission. The building of a church argues a previous plan or the consenting purpose of the people. It expressed religious convictions which prepared the way for a servant of God, or at once responded to establish Christian worship when one was among them ready and fitted to be an evangelist.

The location of the house of worship likewise favors Congregationalism. It was upon Arrowsic — the island owned by the Boston merchants Clarke and Lake, where their main business and garrison were, a proof of their favor and large support. Major Clarke was a worthy citizen of Boston, honored by official stations in civil and military life, liberal-minded and benevolent. Captain Lake was a gentleman of

[1] Anc. Dominions, p. 334. Christian Mirror, 1888, Feb. 11, Mar. 31. Maine Cong'l. Minutes, 1876, p. 198; 1881, p. 27.

distinction and worth, an attendant and a few years later a member of the North Church, Boston (Doctor Mather's). They entered upon their Kennebec enterprise about 1654, had many workmen in their employ and exercised no small influence on general affairs. Their agency in promoting this religious movement and the erection of a church can be counted on. Upon an old map, added by a later hand is a date 1665, referring to this church, but I do not regard it worthy of reliance to show the time of erection, but only an inference or approximation based on the time of Mr. Gutch's ministry. Assuming that he entered upon his public work soon after he had established his home, the church may have been built a year or two after 1660, yet an earlier date is possible, especially if we allow that Clarke and Lake were principal patrons. Indeed, some other man previous to Mr. Gutch may have ministered for a time and been the true pioneer, for the Puritan sentiment required the place of worship very early in every settlement.

Such are some of the known and inferred surroundings of the ministry of Robert Gutch. Of its methods, its spirit, its results, we are ignorant, only knowing that this man bore the name and did the work of a minister of the word of God. So far as known he lived at Kennebec only seven years, of which the whole or possibly not one-half was given to religious service. Brief at the most, and then as one tradition has told, returning across the river from his public duty, the angry waves assailed him, and his family if doubtless watching, with what agony did they see the

catastrophe and find themselves sorely stricken. It is but a reasonable conjecture to regard Mr. Gutch at death nearly fifty-five years of age.

One original deed extant (Indians to Webber), and a few others on record doubtless written by him, disclose acquaintance with legal forms, and show acquirements enabling him to advise and assist in business matters. His handwriting indicates an easy and practised pen, and suggests a good education. The title "Mr." frequently applied denoted ordinarily a person of quality or official distinction.

HIS HOME AND FAMILY.

The actual life of the man and his family is partially disclosed by the inventory of his estate, which offers lights and shades, chiefly shades, for an instructive and touching picture.

Inventory of the goods and chattels of Robert Gouch, deceased, as they were appraised by Christopher Lawson and Edmund Patteshall on the 20th day of September 1667. [Nearly *verbatim et literatim.*]

Imprimis: one dwelling house with outhouses, and upland whereof six acres are in tillage with marsh ground which is in controversy. £30-0-0

IN THE CHAMBER NEXT THE KITCHINE.

One feather bed, one bowlster, 1 grein Rugg.
2 blanketts
One bed stuffed with Catt tayles.
one bowlster, three blankets,
2 bedsteads Weareing apperell
a prcell of bootes 3 guns at 14-10-0
1 spineing Wheele 2 Chests
2 Milke pannes one ould little Table 44-10-0

IN THE KITCHINE.

One Iron kettle one brasse pott		
one Iron pott one small furnace		
4 small Kittles of brass one brass Mortar & pestle		
one skimer 2 pewter dishes		5- 0-0
one heyre sive one pott hanger		
2 peyre of pott hooks one Table		
one Chare, one grind stone		
Some Wooden dishes & Trays & trenchers		
2 milking pales		

IN THE LOFT ABOVE

one flocke bedd & bowlster		
3 blanketts one dough troffe		
Some empty caskes	all	01-08-0
In debts by booke & bills wch are desperate		05- 0-0
foure Cows & one bull	at	20- 0-0
foure Steares	att	12- 0-0
2 yearlings and 3 calves	att	06- 0-0
Two piggs	at	1-10-0
		51- 8-0
	[brot down]	44-10-0
		95-18-0

This schedule of articles appears to be minute and complete and speaks most forcibly by what it lacks. One chair only: were they luxuries in a wilderness home, or had rough usage by children demolished the original supply, and did rude stool or block and bench of slab serve the family? Two bedsteads and one bed on the floor seem the supply for this family of eight or ten: two pewter dishes and the rest for cooking, serving and table use, all of wood, and no knives, or were they overlooked? two milk-pans and four cows, and we know not the capacity of

either: a bed of "catt tayles"; did busy children gather the harvests of the marshes and with nimble fingers provide for their own comfort and learn lessons of household economy? Three guns — the arsenal of the family's defense, as also to supply the table with pigeon, duck and goose: but no farming implements, no tools, not a hoe nor ax; shall we guess that the son was the supporting farmer and to him had been confirmed all utensils of farm and wood craft? tools somewhere, or what does the grindstone intend? Some empty casks — evidently his license had expired. But notice, not one book, not even a Bible! Did the only one go down with its owner beneath the tides of the Kennebec?

Then a primitive house having two rooms, chamber and kitchen, and the loft under the roof, for our fancy to construct by the shore of Long Reach. Such was the equipment and the home comforts of the pioneer minister of the Kennebec.

To Reverend Robert Gutch[1] and his wife Lydia were born eight children. The eldest and the only son was John, baptized in Salem, 1641, August third. His birth may have been much earlier as the baptism would not occur till his father joined the church. To him his father conveyed the interior portion of

[1] This is the correct form of the name shown by his autograph still extant, [Pejepscot Papers, Maine Historical Society] by his own and son's signatures in documents and records, and by the usage of his heirs and assigns in many legal papers in the next century. Yet others sometimes wrote it — Gooch, Gouch, Goutch and once Gouge. The Yorkshire clerk recorded it Gouch, the familiar form of a family name in Wells and York. Mr. Gutch's old style chirography in part, contained some peculiar letters. The copyist of one deed interpreted the letter *c* to be *r* and though then easy of correction, the entry was so made four times, and the error now appears in the published volume, vide York Deeds, Indians to Thwait, Book X., fol. 261.

land behind Thwait's, but it soon passed to other hands, and he doubtless found abundant scope for his industry and energies in managing his father's farm. He continued at Kennebec as he signed the submission to the king in 1665, and also the "Humble Request" to Massachusetts in 1672. After this no trace of him appears, and death erelong is presumed, perhaps in the Indian wars. It is probable that he had no family or else all were early removed by death as no heirs claimed rights in his father's estate.

The second daughter Lydia, baptized 1642, March twenty-eighth, married William Rogers. Their known family comprised two daughters, Lydia who married John Orsment of Manchester, Deborah who married John Burnet of Boston, a soldier in the eastern forces in 1724.

Magdalen was the third daughter, baptized February 6, 1645, and became the wife of John Tilman. They had but one daughter who by marriage became Mary Soper and was living in Boston in 1734. Both Rogers and Tilman had homes on the west of the river and at no great distance from that of their father-in-law.

The sixth daughter was Sarah, and baptized April 4, 1654, was twenty-two years old in 1676, when the first war expelled the settlers, and she with the fugitive family retiring as presumed to Salem, thereafter married Thomas Elkins of that place. Their son Thomas went to the Kennebec, entered on the Gutch lands, and in 1718, built the first house on Long Reach after Queen Anne's war. In a few years he

was forced to flee or was slain, and his house was burned. Sarah Elkins lived to be eighty-one years old or more, and sold one-fifth of her patrimony to her daughter Lydia and her husband John Stevens of Salem, and the remainder to her grandson John Elkins.

No baptism was recorded of the youngest daughter Margaret, but accepting the usual spacing of births in former generations, hers can be assigned to 1656, or perhaps 1658. The lack of the baptismal entry may be slight evidence that Mr. Gutch had removed from Salem some years before his appearance at Kennebec, and supports the hypothesis of a sojourn at Pemaquid. This daughter married William Lovering of Sheepscot. Their only daughter was named Margaret and became the wife of William (or Witham) Johnson of Lebanon. They made a home, about 1740, on the Gutch lands, and dwelt there till death.

The eldest, and the fifth and sixth daughters, Patience, Eliza, Deborah, dropped out of the family by early death, so that only four of the eight children had heirs to survive and share in the paternal estate.[1] These heirs between 1720 and 1740, sold their several rights in the property to various persons, Nathaniel Donnell of York, obtaining about three-fourths. Surveys and partition were made by order of court, 1752.

[1] There is a mention in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register 1880, p. 314, of still another daughter of Mr. Gutch, Rachel, said to be born about 1657. The error arose in the supposition that the person uniting with Sarah Elkins in a deposition concerning the Gutch family (York Deeds, Book XVI., fol. 109) was a daughter. She was a neighbor, daughter of Thomas Atkins and married first, John Drake of Small Point, and next John Berry (Barry) of Boston. York Deeds, Book VIII., fols. 167, 169.

STEPHEN MANCHESTER, THE SLAYER OF THE INDIAN CHIEF POLIN, AT NEW MARBLEHEAD, NOW WINDHAM, MAINE, IN 1756, AND A SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTION, WITH HIS ANCESTRY.

BY NATHAN GOOLD.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 14, 1896.

When Brown by Polin slain,
Winship twice scalped was lain,
The Indian yell
Triumphant pierced the air;
But Manchester was there
Undaunted by a fear
And Polin fell.

THE events of May, 1756, at New Marblehead, now Windham, Maine, were of but small moment in the great progress of the world, but to the early settlers of the outlying towns of what is now Cumberland County they were of the greatest importance. Time has proved that the Indian's deed to these towns of ours was not recorded in heaven, but that this was God's country, and His great plan was that if the savages opposed the progress of civilization they must be banished from the land.

New Marblehead had several settlers before 1740, but the order of their coming will probably never be known. The story of Stephen Manchester, one of the

earliest settlers, must always be interesting and prominent in the town's history. The romance connected with his coming to the town brightens the dry facts of history. He was born and spent his early life in Tiverton, Rhode Island, and when a young man became much interested in a neighbor's daughter, named Grace Farrow. Her parents objected to his attentions to their daughter but were unable to prevent them. At last they decided to emigrate to the District of Maine and settle in the new country where their daughter would soon forget her lover, her parents thinking that the attachment for young Manchester was but a childish fancy. John Farrow, his wife Persis, daughter Grace, and other children came to New Marblehead to make themselves a home, and he is said to have been the third settler, in 1738, on home lot No. 29.

Stephen Manchester was then about twenty-one years of age and probably as resolute as he was in his later life. Tradition does not give what passed after Grace Farrow left Tiverton with her parents, but in two long weeks Stephen Manchester walked into her father's door. It was probably the same old story, of her parents consenting to their marriage, which probably occurred that year. For their home he selected home lot No. 32, next to John Farrow, Jr's., lots (his brother-in-law), cleared the land and built a loghouse.

The situation at this time in the new township was that a bridge had been built over the Presumpscot River in 1736, for communication with Falmouth, and in the winter of 1737-38, a meeting-house was begun,

but the Indians forbade their building it. In the autumn of 1738, the Indians troubled the men so much in building the mill at Horse Beef Falls, now Mallison Falls, that the proprietors were asked for an extension of time when the mill should be completed. Such was the condition of affairs when young Manchester started life in the new settlement, with a prospect of being obliged to contest with the Indians every right.

Soon it was discovered that the Indian chief Polin was bent on the destruction of their settlement, but resolutely they kept at work improving their land. In times of peace the Indians camped near the settlement and they became well acquainted, but Manchester never liked Polin. In 1739, there were camped on the Presumpscot about twenty-five Indians, besides the squaws and children.

In the summer of 1739, Chief Polin with other Indians went to Boston and held a conference with the governor and council, where they stated their grievances. They wished a fishway kept open in the dam of Col. Westbrook at the Presumpscot Lower Falls, and objected to the further settlement of the land on the river, as they wished the river for their trade. They also wished that some trader might be placed where it would be convenient to buy a small quantity of rum, but not enough to get drunk upon as that was contrary to their religion. They also wanted a drum as their young men wished to have a dance sometimes. They objected to a settlement at New Marblehead, saying that Saccarappa was as far as the English had

a right to settle. In reply the governor ordered a fishway in the dam, and also that the Indians be treated kindly, but he told them that there had been deeds of the land given to Rev. Robert Jordan and others, which had been burned during the Indian war, probably in Jordan's house at Spurwink, in 1675. He then told them that the opportunities for getting rum were sufficient. The Indians at the end of each request laid down a skin saying it was the pledge of the tribe, whom they called the " Pesumpscots."

The settlers kept on in the work of the settlement, but for their protection they were obliged to build a fort, which was on home lot No. 33. It is described as fifty feet square, two stories high, with walls one one foot thick of hewn hemlock timber, the upper story jutting out over the lower, with a tier of portholes. There were two watch-boxes placed at diagonal corners, two stories high, twelve feet square, with walls one foot thick, each watch-box having a swivel gun, furnished by the proprietors, and so placed as to defend two sides of the fort. The fort surrounded with a stockade about twenty-five or thirty feet from it, made by setting posts ten or twelve inches in diameter, twelve feet long, perpendicularly in the ground so near together that the Indians could not pass between them. This fort was built during the spring of 1744, and was paid for by the state appropriating one hundred pounds for the purpose. An iron nine-pounder was placed before the fort for firing alarms, and the proprietors provided fifty pounds of powder. This preparation was made because of the

declaration of war between England and France that year. During that war the settlers were obliged to live in the fort for protection against the Indians, who destroyed their crops and reduced them almost to beggary.

Smith in his history of Windham says : —

> The first settlers of this town commenced their settlement under the most discouraging circumstances. No succor or supplies could be obtained without traveling six or eight miles through the trackless woods. Yet they persevered with untiring zeal, displayed a fortitude that does honor to human nature, turned the barren wilderness into the fruitful field, and ultimately taught the savage Indians, by whom they were surrounded, to know by sad experience, that the first settlers were a class of men who would not suffer them to take life with impunity.

The story of the years to 1756 has been told by others, but that was an important year in Stephen Manchester's life. Let us now turn to his origin, the events of his life in the township, now Windham, Maine, and the story of his ancestors.

Stephen Manchester was born in Tiverton, Rhode Island, May 23, 1717, and was the son of Gershom and Anna Manchester. He married, probably in 1738, Grace Farrow, a daughter of John and Persis Farrow. Her father had cleared twelve acres of land on home lot No. 29, built a log house, which had rotted down, and he had died before April 26, 1759. Her mother died May 12, 1758. Stephen Manchester cleared twelve acres on lot No. 32, built a house, which stood about twenty rods from the river before 1759. From a report of a committee discovered by Rev. George M. Bodge, a native of Windham, it seems

that Manchester did not settle on lot No. 32 until 1742. Where he lived before that time is not known, but perhaps with her father on lot No. 29. Manchester's lot is now owned by the heirs of Col. Edward Anderson.

Stephen Manchester's son Thomas was the first child born in the township in 1739. He was a lad of seventeen in the fight in 1756, and married, December 6, 1764, Hannah Bailey. He bought of John Farrow, probably his uncle, ten acres of home lot No. 31 with a convenient landing-place on the Presumpscot River, March 12, 1766, also twenty-five acres of lot No. 21, second division. Before the Revolutionary war he moved to Haverhill, New Hampshire, and January 31, 1776, enlisted in Capt. Samuel Young's company of Col. Timothy Bedel's New Hampshire rangers. They marched to the St. Lawrence River and joined the Northern army, and were in the affair at the "Cedars," forty-three miles above Montreal, in May, and Col. Bedel was cashiered in August for cowardice and incapacitated from holding office under the government.

Stephen Manchester's wife, Grace, died about 1745, and was buried on their lot. She was about twenty-six years of age. He married his second wife, Seafair Mayberry, December 21, 1749. She was a daughter of William Mayberry, the second settler of the town, and was born on the passage from Ireland to Marblehead, Massachusetts, about 1730. Her name was given her for the fact that she was born at sea. By her he had Stephen Jr., born August 9, 1751, who never married but enlisted for three years, January 1, 1777,

in Col. Joseph Vose's 1st Massachusetts regiment, took part in the Saratoga campaign and surrender of Burgoyne, went to Valley Forge, where he was taken sick, carried to Reading, Pennsylvania, where he died, January 5, 1778, aged twenty-six years. The next child was Abigail, born November 9, 1753, who married, January 28, 1773, Davis Thurrel and moved to Poland, Maine. Soon after the birth of Abigail, his wife Seafair died, December 12, 1753, aged about twenty-three years.

Stephen Manchester married for his third wife, Mary Bailey, April 9, 1758. She was born at Marblehead, Massachusetts, November 4, 1726, and was a daughter of John and Rachel Bailey, who were at Newbury, Massachusetts, in 1722, at Marblehead in 1726 and at Falmouth in 1728. Her brother was probably the selectman of Windham in 1765-66, and her father's family may have lived there as the heirs of John Bailey were taxed for lot No. 23 in 1759. This was the lot settled by Seth Webb in 1744. Mary (Bailey) Manchester owned the covenant in the Windham church May 21, 1762. Her children were Gershom, born May 10, 1761; married, July 23, 1787, Anne Bunker who died in 1842, aged eighty-two years. She was a woman respected by those who knew her. Gershom enlisted at eighteen, in Capt. William Harris company in 1779 and served twenty-six days on Falmouth Neck. He lived near his father at East Windham, then moved to North Windham where he died in 1853, aged ninety-two years. He was erect and active until after he was ninety years of age.

The next child was Annah, born February 13, 1765; married in 1785, William Fields of Falmouth and died February 10, 1857, aged almost ninety-two years. She had twelve children. They lived at Windham in the Ireland school district, and the farm is occupied by their descendants. She was much loved by her family and left a good name to her posterity.

The youngest child was John, born about 1767; married, February 8, 1795, Mary Hannaford. They had a large family. He lived near his father at East Windham and afterwards moved to the West Gray road, where he died about September, 1839, aged about seventy-two years.

Stephen Manchester was an Indian scout. He was in Capt. George Berry's company of scouts, May 19, 1746, to January 19, 1747, and was also in Capt. Daniel Hill's company from March to December, 1748. In 1749, in a deposition, he states that in 1748 he went on a ten days' march from Gorhamtown up to the head of Sebago Pond and back into the woods eighty miles. They went across the pond in whale-boats and returned home by the same route. He also states that it was a common practise to watch, guard and scout around about New Marblehead. In these scouting expeditions he became familiar with the whole region and the Indian methods. It is a tradition that for many years he resolved to kill the chief Polin at the first opportunity.

In the early spring of 1756, the settlers noticed that the Indians were uneasy and they expected when the snow went off that there would be trouble, and May

fourteenth their fears were verified. Joseph Knights had been captured at New Marblehead in February and escaped in time to alarm the inhabitants at Falmouth, May fifteenth, four days before Polin was killed. The following account of the events of that day, written by Thomas L. Smith, Esq., seems to be the accepted one as he must have known in his earlier life some of those alive at that time and received the story from their lips:

On the morning of May 14, 1756, Ezra Brown and Ephraim Winship left the fort for the purpose of laboring on Brown's lot, which was about one mile to the rear, or northeast of the fort. They were accompanied by a guard, consisting of four men and four boys; the names of the men were Stephen Manchester, Abraham Anderson, Joseph Starling and John Farrow, the names of the boys, Timothy Cloudman, Gershom Winship, Stephen Tripp and Thomas Manchester. In going to Brown's lot they had to go through a piece of woods, Brown and Winship being about sixty rods in advance, and in the thickest part of the woods were fired upon by a body of fifteen or twenty Indians, who lay in ambush. The Indians were of the Rockameecook tribe commanded by Polin their king. Brown was shot dead upon the spot, Winship received two balls, one in the eye and another in the arm and fell to the ground where both were scalped by the Indians. Upon hearing the report of the guns part of the guard went back to the fort. The residue, Abraham Anderson, Stephen Manchester, Timothy Cloudman and Gershom Winship determined to pursue the Indians and avenge the blood of their fallen companions or perish in the attempt. Polin the Indian chief, who was concealed behind a tree, was the first to begin the bloody combat. He discharged his musket at Anderson without taking effect. In his eagerness to reload his piece the body of Polin became uncovered and exposed to the view of Manchester, who was about thirty feet on Anderson's right, when Manchester instantly leveled his musket, took deadly aim and fired; swift as

lightning the fatal ball sped its way and Polin, the warrior king of the Rockameecooks, fell to rise no more.

A tradition in Manchester's family is, that Polin and Manchester fired at each other without effect, and in the race to get loaded again Manchester was too quick for the Indian by his gun priming itself, when he fired and killed the chief.

Parson Smith states, May 10, 1756, that the Indians were coming on the frontier from Brunswick to Saco, and the next day says that Capt. Milk's, Capt. Ilsley's, Capt. Smith's and Capt. Berry's companies have gone scouting after Indians. The Indians captured a young woman and killed Thomas Means at Flying Point (Freeport) a few days before. He speaks May fourteenth, of the killing of Polin by Manchester, and gives particulars, also says "The Indians fled affrighted and left five packs, a bow and a bunch of arrows and several other things." He says "Manchester was the hero of the action, but Anderson behaved gallantly calling, 'Follow on my lads,' or the English, perhaps all of them, would have been killed."

The death of Polin brought peace and happiness to the border settlements, and of course the settlers felt grateful to Manchester for killing him A tradition is that Manchester was offered a township for his reward but declined the offer saying it was "reward enough to have killed the skunk."

In a petition of the inhabitants of New Marblehead to Lieut. Gov. Phips and the government at Boston for relief, dated April 4, 1757, signed, with others, by Stephen Manchester, his son Thomas, his father

Gershom and his brother John, they state that the settlers have been confined in the garrison fourteen or fifteen years, and that they had raised little corn and that many fields of several acres had been destroyed by "ye wild varmounds" (Indians). They said they had "no credit because they had nothing to pay with and then their creditors did not know how soon they might be destroyed by the Indians."

After the retirement of the Indians, settlers went to the township and it rapidly filled up. Then it became a prosperous settlement. The town voted, March 30, 1768, that a good handy pair of bars shall be kept by Stephen Manchester's and Widow Chute's across the road leading down to the river, probably to a landing place.

At the beginning of the Revolutionary war one of the first, and perhaps the first, to enlist in the army from Windham was Stephen Manchester, then fifty-eight years of age. He enlisted, in Capt. John Brackett's Company, in Col. Edmund Phinney's 31st Regiment of Foot, May 12, 1775, and marched to Cambridge July third, where he served under Washington to December thirty-first. He enlisted, January 1, 1776, in Capt. Jonathan Sawyer's Company, in Col. Edmund Phinney's 18th Continental Regiment and served through the siege of Boston and was discharged August 20, 1776. He was a soldier in Capt. George Smith's Company in Col Joseph Vose's 1st Massachusetts Regiment and served three years, probably from early in the year 1777. He took part in the Saratoga campaign, was at surrender of Burgoyne,

spent the winter at Valley Forge, was in the battles in Rhode Island, and returned home after the expiration of his term of service.

When the locality where he settled, at South Windham, became a prosperous community he longed to go further into the forest to pass the last years of his life as near nature as he had begun it, and February 7, 1788, he bought the lot No. 79, second division of one hundred acres, situated at East Windham, where he moved, being then in his seventy-second year. Here on a steep and rugged hill, at least two hundred and fifty feet above the surrounding country, he built a small one-story house and cleared himself a farm. He built here in the forest on this hill for the same reason that the eagle builds its nest in the highest tree overlooking the country — a natural love of freedom. His old home had become too tame for him. This hill where he established his new home has always been known as Manchester's Hill and from the front of his house on the hill looking northwest, he had a fine view of at least eight miles along Pleasant River valley, and in the distance on a clear day the White Mountains loom up, about sixty miles away. It is a beautiful view now, and was on such a spot, as such a man as he would be likely to locate.

A few months after Manchester located his new home, John Akers Knight bought land at the foot of the hill, built a log house and they soon became fast friends. Knight went from Quaker Lane, now in Deering, and a few years later built the two-story house now occupied by his grandson Albert M. Knight. He

was the son of Moses and Hannah (Akers) Knight who came from Newbury, Massachusetts and settled on what is called the "Hart Place" on Quaker Lane, in Deering, in 1737. John A. Knight built the first mill at Huston Falls near his home at Windham. He had eighteen children and died July 10, 1834, aged eighty-five years. His wife was Keziah Morrell, a daughter of John and Sarah (Winslow) Morrell, and was married April 16, 1778.

Stephen Manchester lived in his little house on the hill until he was unable to carry on his farm, when he first moved to his son Gershom's and afterwards to his son John's at the foot of the hill on the road, where he died June 24, 1807, aged ninety years. He was buried in his friend and neighbor Knight's graveyard, where now lay these two old pioneers, near each other, awaiting their final summons. Manchester's grave is marked only by two iron rods, one at the head and the other at the foot, placed there by his neighbor Knight's family, so that the grave might not be forgotten, Some monument should mark that grave, so inscribed that every generation would know where Stephen Manchester, the slayer of Polin, was buried. His last wife Mary, died May 15, 1815, aged eighty-eight years.

Stephen Manchester hated the Indians to his dying day, and always noticed the fourteenth of May as the anniversary of the day on which, as he said, he "sent the devil a present." He, in his later years is described as a man of full six feet in height, sinewy and compactly built, very erect, with dark curling hair, a

somewhat swarthy complexion, keen eyes and he probably weighed over one hundred and eighty pounds. He was calm and collected under all circumstances, a man of resolute courage and an adept in all manner of woodcraft.

The only signs now of his last home on Manchester Hill, are a small mound where the chimney stood, three of his apple trees, scraggy and partly dead, and a few piles of rocks now well sunken into the earth, gathered by his hands from the farm. The juniper and pine trees have taken possession of his land and his farm is now a pasture.

For one hundred and forty years the name of Stephen Manchester has been one of the best known in Windham. The mothers of the town for many generations have told their children at their knees the story of the killing of the Indian chief Polin, and how that act freed their forefathers from the savages' depredations, leaving the impression that to Manchester the town owed a debt of gratitude which they never could discharge.

Whenever our country has needed defenders the family of Stephen Manchester have stood ready and willing to stand shoulder to shoulder with the bravest. Five generations of the family have served their country from Windham.

Stephen Manchester, his father Gershom and brother John, also his son Thomas, served in the French and Indian wars. He, his brother John, and his three sons, Thomas, Stephen Jr., and Gershom, served in the Revolutionary war, Stephen Jr. dying in the service.

His grandson, Stephen Manchester 3d, served in the Windham company in the war of 1812, and several great-grandsons entered the army to restore the Union that their ancestor fought to establish, two of whom went from Windham, and gave their lives that we might have a new birth of freedom for the nation, "and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, should not perish from the earth."

The tradition and stories of Old Windham, the land of our fathers, will always be of interest to the sons and daughters of that town. Their preservation for posterity is the result of the affection for the town that those fathers loved and where they lie buried. The place where Chief Polin fell has been marked by such loving hands, to whom those interested in the town's history are indebted for their thoughtfulness in placing there a granite marker before the location was forgotten. It was in lot No. 21, first division of one hundred acre lots, which is off the old River Road on the road to Duck Pond village, and is not far from the Westbrook line. The lot was owned at the time by Ezra Brown, whose heirs sold it to Abraham Anderson in whose family it has since remained.

The public spirited citizens, through whose efforts the marker was located and dedicated November 16, 1895, were Samuel T. Dole, William M. Smith, Frank Cobb, Edwin and Charles Hunnewell, Abraham Cloudman and John Webb.

The name of Manchester
His numerous children hear
Among the brave.

Stephen Manchester's Ancestry.

Stephen Manchester's earliest known ancestor was Thomas Manchester, who had a grant of land at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, December 10, 1657. He married Margaret Wood, daughter of John Wood of Portsmouth. She died in 1693, and he was alive in 1691. The following were the names of his children: John, Thomas Jr., William, Stephen, Mary and Elizabeth. Stephen married first, September 13, 1684, Elizabeth Wodell, daughter of Gershom Wodell of Portsmouth, whose wife was a daughter of John Tripp of that town. Gershom Wodell was the son of William and Mary Wodell of Warwick, Rhode Island. William Wodell was one of a company taken at Gorton and imprisoned by the government of Massachusetts, and after he was liberated went to Portsmouth, Rhode Island. Stephen Manchester's wife Elizabeth died in 1719, and he married Demaris, her last name unknown. He was a freeman in 1684, and was an inhabitant of Tiverton, Rhode Island, at the organization of that town, March 2, 1692. His children were Gershom, born about 1687, and Ruth, born May 27, 1690.

Gershom Manchester, son of Stephen and Elizabeth (Wodell) Manchester and father of Stephen of New Marblehead, resided at Tiverton, Rhode Island, and his wife was named Anne, married about 1707. They had the following children: —

Elizabeth, born Sept. 28, 1709 and married John Tripp, April 28, 1730.

Hannah, born Feb. 4, 1711 and married Othneal Tripp, Feb. 4, 1732.

Stephen, born May 23, 1717, went to New Marblehead, Maine.
Alex and Ober, twins, born April 14, 1721.

Gershom Manchester married for his second wife Mary Farrow of Portsmouth, Rhode Island, December 16, 1731, and had one child, John born November 4, 1732. Probably soon after his son Stephen came to New Marblehead, Gershom Manchester came to the same township with his wife Mary and at least some of his children and settled on home lot No. 15, built himself a house and cleared eight acres of land. His wife was admitted to full communion in the New Marblehead church October 7, 1744. He and his sons were living in the fort in April, 1746, and he was an Indian scout in Capt George Berry's Company in 1746. He died at New Marblehead March 15, 1749, aged sixty-two years.

John Manchester son of Gershom and Mary (Farrow) Manchester, and half brother to Stephen, was a small boy when his father came to New Marblehead. In 1752 he took up home lot No. 16 and before 1759 had cleared nine acres of land and built a house. In 1756 he married Comfort Bunker of North Yarmouth, Maine, but the tradition is that she came from Mount Desert. A few months after his marriage he joined the church, being then twenty-three years of age. He also owned home lots No. 14 and 15. His first child the record says died "about a fortnight old," and he had daughters Mary and Hannah, probably other children. He was a garrison soldier in 1757, under Sergt. Thomas Chute. In 1761, he sold his land and probably went then or the next year to

Mount Desert. The probable cause of his leaving the town was the extraodinary drought of those years in the state west of the Kennebec River, which was preceded by "a wasting desease." In 1761, the drought was followed by forest fires which were not checked until the heavy rains of August nineteenth and twentieth. The year 1762, was also a year of drought and many valuable fields and much valuable timber land was destroyed by fire. Many cattle were burned to death. The farmers were obliged to go to the "Eastward" for hay to keep their cattle from starving. Many families moved to the eastern part of the state where no drought existed.

John Manchester, no doubt, took part in the capture of the Margaretta, at Machias, June 12, 1775, as he was one of the petitioners to the General Court from that settlement May twenty-fifth. He served at Machias almost four months, in 1776, in Capt. Stephen Smith's Company and twenty-four days in Capt. John Scott's Company, also thirteen days in Capt. Daniel Sullivan's Company, in Col. Benjamin Foster's Regiment in 1777. He was at Mount Desert in 1790 and is probably the ancestor of those of that name in that locality.

HON. THOMAS DAVEE.

BY JOHN FRANCIS SPRAGUE.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, April 24, 1896.

If any of the members of the Maine Historical Society should indulge in the pleasure of a carriage drive through the pleasant and picturesque region of the upper Piscataquis valley, they would find no portion that would more forcibly remind them of Longfellow's immortal "Sudbury town" than the charming little town of Blanchard; for most certainly

> A region of repose it seems,
> A place of slumber and of dreams,
> Remote among the wooded hills.

Its fertile meadow farms through which the Piscataquis gently winds its course in its journey oceanward, its pretty farm cottages with their modest surroundings, its white church on the sloping hillside, its schoolhouse, its country mills, its blacksmith shop, store, and post-office do not suggest to the traveler a place of magnitude in the commercial world of to-day. And yet, when hardy pioneers and sturdy sons of New England came hither to build a new county in the forests of eastern Maine, it was for a time an important center for the lumberman, the "tote" teams, and the stages of those primitive days.

Some of its citizens were prominent and active men of affairs in this section, in the beginning of Piscataquis County, and were of its founders and holders of

office. Notably among these men of prominence were the Packards, the Blanchards and the Davees.

Thomas Davee, the subject of this sketch, was a resident of Blanchard while he was a member of the National Congress, and when that town was a part of Somerset County. Hon. J. W. Porter, editor of the Maine Historical Magazine, in a recent article regarding Mr. Davee (Vol. IX, page 90, Me. Historical Magazine), says that he was the founder of the town of Dover. He came from sturdy Pilgrim stock, being the son of Solomon and Jedidah (Sylvester) Davie, of Plymouth, Massachusetts, born there December 9, 1797. After arriving at the age of twenty-one years he went to Hebron, Maine, and remained there until 1821, when he removed to what is now Dover. While in Hebron he married Ruth Barrows.

Loring's History of Piscataquis County, page 53, says: "In 1821, Thomas Davee put up a store and potash factory, and commenced to trade in 1822." He was the first merchant in Dover. He was town clerk for the year 1823, and for several years afterwards, Undoubtedly he was a farmer with his other avocations, for among the sheep marks in these records appears the following: "Thomas Davee, mark of sheep: a square crop off each ear, and a hole in each ear. Rec. and recorded Mar. 7, 1828."

Dover was then a part of Penobscot County, and the first deed to him is recorded in Penobscot records, Vol. IX, page 437, from Stephen Young. It conveyed lot No. 13, R. 4. He was an extensive owner of real

estate in the new town at one time, and was for some years the largest land owner except the proprietors. He also acquired large interests in upper Piscataquis lands, owning considerable in common with the Vaughans, and Charles Blanchard of Portland.

In 1831, he and Charles Blanchard bought township No. 3, range 3, of the Bingham purchase: this was incorporated as a town March 17, 1831, and called Blanchard in honor of Mr. Blanchard, Mr. Davee's joint partner in this enterprise. This was then a part of Somerset County. It is evident that his intention was immediately to unite his fortunes with the town where he was so large an owner, but his business interests at Dover were such that he did not move his family and permanently locate there until April, 1833. Blanchard and Davee for a time carried on a large lumber business there, besides trading and operating mills.

He was interested in political affairs, and while a resident of Blanchard and until his death was very successful in this respect. He belonged to the Democratic party, and was said to have been at one time the most influential and popular man in the party in Eastern Maine. He was a member of the Maine House of Representatives in 1826-27, and of the Maine Senate 1830-32. In 1835 he was again elected to a seat in the Maine Legislature, and was chosen speaker of the House of Representatives. He was appointed sheriff of Somerset County by Gov. Dunlap, February 24, 1835, and resigned the speakership February

twenty-sixth, Jonathan Cilley of Thomaston being elected in his stead. This was an important move in his career as a public man, for the office of sheriff was then of much local consequence, and he thus had the appointment of a large number of deputies. He immediately became a candidate in his party for Congress, and was nominated and elected, and served in the national House of Representatives in 1837-41. He served on the committee of invalid pensions, and on several important special committees while a member of Congress. During the session of 1839 he presented many petitions from his constituents in Somerset County, "praying Congress not to admit any new state into the Union, whose constitution tolerates slavery." One of the largest of these petitions was from Cyrus Packard, and others, of Blanchard, which Mr. Davee presented February 18, 1839.

From a perusal of the Congressional Records of that period, it does not seem that Mr. Davee took an active part in the debates, but his name appears with frequency in the presentation of petitions, claims, and resolves, affecting the material interests of his constituents, who were many of them poor settlers in sparsely inhabited communities. It is evident that he was diligent in his labors for them, and faithful to every trust. One of these petitions was for reimbursment for injuries received at Madawaska and was presented to Congress by Mr. Davee January 7, 1839: it was from E. S. Greeley of Dover (now in Piscataquis County), who states therein that he was appointed by

the commissioners of Penobscot County, by authority of law, to take the census of Madawaska, a portion of the disputed boundary between this country and Great Britain; that he attempted to perform that service, and in doing so was imprisoned by the British authorities, for a great length of time; that he suffered greatly in health and pecuniary resources, and therefore now prays Congress to allow him such compensation as they may deem proper.

Piscataquis County was incorporated in 1838, and Blanchard included therein. Having been elected to the National Congress two terms he was not a candidate for reelection from the new county. In 1841, he was elected once more to a seat in the Senate of Maine. His death occured on the anniversary of his birthday, December 9, 1841.

Thomas S. Pullen was elected to fill the vacancy caused by his death. In the Senate, January 19, 1842, Senator Pullen introduced resolves relating to the late senator-elect, Thomas Davee, one of which says: "He presented an eminent instance of the successful performance of high and difficult trusts, and never fell short of the hopes of his friends. He was courteous, affectionate and pure."

He was not a public speaker in the common acceptance of the term, but it is said that he possessed executive ability to an eminent degree, and had the tact, sagacity, sound judgment, and magnetic qualities which are always essential in the leaders of men. All agree that he was of undoubted integrity and uprightness of character.

He was favorably mentioned by the party leaders in the state as a candidate for governor, and had he not been stricken down early in life he would undoubtedly have been elected to this high office.

Previous to his decease he acquired property in Monson, and was interested in business enterprises there, and intended to change his residence to that place. His remains lie in the old Monson burying-ground, near the Congregational church.

CABOT

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JOHN CABOT AND HIS DISCOVERIES.

BY HON. JAMES P. BAXTER.

THE map of the world at the time of the Norman Conquest of England was confined to Europe, a fragment of Western Asia, and Northern Africa. Outside of this limited area all was a dark waste. Even India was practically unknown to Europe. From the time of Alexander it had been a fabulous land overflowing with riches, but these were only reached by the infidel merchantmen of the East. It was left to the Crusaders to open the eyes of Europeans to the importance of the Indian traffic and the methods by which it was prosecuted.

Near the close of the thirteenth century, Marco Paulo, an enterprising merchant of Venice, undertook the perilous adventure of a journey to this wonderland, and succeeded in reaching it, and visiting its principal marts. Paulo's exploration of Cathay and his story of its wealth stimulated adventure; geographical learning was fostered, and the mariners of Venice became noted throughout Europe for their skill, while her wealth and splendor, second only to the opulence and magnificence of Cathay, the source of her grandeur, became the burden of poetry and romance.

Generations came and went, and Venice continued to enjoy her monopoly of the Indian traffic. It seemed

as though such prosperity could never end; but in the fifteenth century the discovery of printing evidenced the opening of a new era in human progress. Already the genius of Gioja had opened the vision of mankind to the possibility of highways across the watery desert, which, trackless and unexplored, had hitherto limited maritime enterprise in the West; and to realize to man the benefit of Gioja's achievement, Gutenberg was to supplement it by another, which indefinitely multiplying the records of human thought and experience, and scattering them to the obscurest corners of the civilized world, would make it possible for them to take root, and finally to flower and fruit into new ideas and achievements.

The morning of the fifteenth century had found Cathay as it had been for centuries, the synonym for all things rare and precious; the treasure-house from which Northern and Western Europe drew their luxuries through the golden gate of the Mediterranean, jealously guarded by the lion of San Marco; but as the century advanced, under the stimulus of letters which diffused a knowledge of strange countries, and encouraged speculative thought, the question of reaching the treasures of India by the sea received consideration; and if the sphericity of the earth were true, why not by sailing to the west? Probably no student of the subject doubted for a moment the feasibility of the undertaking, and to this belief are due the voyages which resulted in bringing the western continent, during this century, to the attention of Europe. For this great service mankind is indebted to Roman

subjects. The spirit which had impelled the people of pagan Rome to go forth to the conquest of distant lands, had survived the changes which fifteen centuries of war and violence had wrought, and now animated the people of papal Rome in a more enlightened era, not only to open channels of traffic to distant lands, but to the discovery and conquest of countries in parts of the globe hitherto unknown. To seven of these, all Italians, the world owes a peculiar debt; to Gioja for his invention of the mariner's compass; to Columbus, Cabot, Vespucci and Verrazano for their discoveries; to Martyr for the first history of America, and to Benzoni for the first book of travels in the newly discovered lands of romance and mystery.

Of these noted discoverers, John Cabot, in the interest of England, was the first to discover the American continent, on June 24, 1497; unless, as has been contended, Vespucci preceded him in its discovery on the sixth of the same month; Columbus, in the interest of Spain, having reached it on July thirty-first of the following year, and Verrazano, in the interest of France, on the seventh of March, 1524. Before the discovery of the continent, however, it had been disposed of by Rome, who on May 4, 1493, bestowed upon Spain all undiscovered lands west of a meridian line one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape de Verde Islands.

The history of the efforts of Spain to hold the magnificent gift bestowed upon her by the common father of Roman Catholic monarchs for her assumption of the championship of the faith is interesting, but the

subject is hardly within our present limits. That these efforts were cruel beyond conception we know, since they stain too deeply for effacement the early pages of American history; but they were futile; indeed, it is a fact pregnant with irony, that the success of the Italian discoverers in the interests of rival monarchs, resulted, after long and bitter struggles for the possession of the land which they equally coveted, in the defeat of the Roman Catholic cause, to which these discoverers were sincerely espoused; a defeat so complete, as to give to those, who had inherited the liberal and anti-Roman thought of their Teutonic ancestors, the sovereignty of the continent, and the planting thereon of a commonwealth grander than any before known to mankind.

When the news of the discovery of the West Indies by Columbus spread through Europe, it awakened a warm interest in those engaged in maritime enterprises. Among those who listened eagerly to the wonderful story was John Cabot, a Genoese, later a citizen of Venice, who a score of years before had gone to London "to follow the trade of Marchandises." Cabot, before establishing himself in England had been a student of cosmography and the science of navigation, a favorite study with the youth of Genoa and Venice, whose merchants well merited the proud title of princes, so generally accorded them.

When John Cabot was an active youth, climbing the vine-clad terraces of Genoa, or lounging about the crowded quays, regarding with admiration the motley press of mariners, whose skin, tanned by wind and

sun, suggested to his imagination voyages in strange seas and wanderings in mysterious lands, Venice had reached the height of her commercial glory. Never had such wealth and luxury been displayed in any city as were seen in her marts of traffic, her gorgeous palaces, her magnificent churches and thronged piazzas, or floated on "gondolas full laden" along her crystal thoroughfares, realizing more than the bewildering splendors of Turner's immortal dream; but before the fifteenth century had passed its meridian, a shadow presaging ill, fell athwart this glowing vision of prosperity. The Saracens, who had aforetime given way before the banner of the cross, gathering their fierce hordes on the borders of her dominions, afflicted the proud republic to such a degree, that she hastened to secure a peace with her barbaric foe, which, however, did not long continue.

Disturbed by war, stripped of her eastern provinces by Mohammed II., the Euxine closed to her commerce, and neighboring nations pushing maritime enterprises to a point which threatened to cut off the sources of her former prosperity, the future of the Queen of the Adriatic seemed dark indeed.

Discouraged by the prospect before them, many of her enterprising merchants sought opportunities to advance their fortunes in foreign lands. Among these, as before intimated, was John Cabot, who had already journeyed to Arabia and, while standing in the shadow of the great mosque of Mecca, had seen the caravans depositing their burdens of precious merchandise in the busy bazaars of the sacred city.

Leaving his native country with his family, he first visited London, but later took up his residence in the city of Bristol, probably in the suburb, singularly enough christened Cathay, in honor of the oriental city of that name, probably on account of its being the residence of merchants who dealt in Indian merchandise.

Here was John Cabot pursuing his commercial enterprises, of which, unfortunately, we know nought, when he heard of the discovery made by his countryman. Deeply moved by the news of the event, which he characterized as "more divine than humane," yet which was perhaps but a partial realization of one of his waking dreams, Cabot resolved to trace for himself a pathway to Cathay by pursuing a northwesterly course across the Atlantic.

One may well picture the grave cosmographer in his humble home in Bristol, discussing with his wife and sons, Lewis, Sebastian and Sanctus, the future voyage. The last two were doubtless English born, and had grown to manhood in the ancient city, to whose mural gates, even then, the forest crowded, giving shelter to the wild deer, which herded among the low hills beyond. But before any practical results could be achieved in this splendid enterprise, the parsimonious monarch who then occupied the English throne, must be consulted.

Henry VII., whose envy had been quickened by the success of his brother of Spain, was in a mood friendly to Cabot's project, and he at once bestowed upon him and his sons a parchment granting them the

privilege of sailing "east, west or north — to seek out, discover and find heathen lands," and to "subdue, occupy and possess" them for the crown, but "upon their own proper costs and charges"; in consideration of which privileges, they were to yield him one-fifth of the profits of their labors.

This parchment was dated March 5, 1496, and the first voyage of the Cabots of which any account has been preserved, was undertaken in May, 1497, fourteen months after its date.[1]

During this time the peace of the country was disturbed, not only by Scotland, who actively supported the pretensions of Perkin Warbeck to the throne, but by domestic insurrections fomented by Warbeck himself, which hindered preparations for the contemplated voyage. In the beginning of May, however, the friends of Cabot witnessed his departure from the port of Bristol, on the voyage which was to render his name immortal.

The month of May passed, June drew to a close, and the daring adventurers kept on their course, ever toward the northwest. Thus far they had scanned the horizon for land in vain; nothing but a dreary waste of waters had met their vision. We have no record, as in the case of Columbus, of what passed on

[1] I have ignored as trivial the controversy relative to an earlier date for Cabot's discovery, based upon an inscription on a map in the Bibliotheque Imperial, of Paris, made in 1544, to this effect. "This country was discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, and Sebastian Cabot, his son, on the twenty-fourth of June, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ, MCCCCXCIV." (1494.) Everything disproves the correctness of this date, especially the correspondence of the time in which the discovery was announced, as for instance, a letter of Pasqualigo, a London merchant, to his brother in Venice, dated August 23, 1497; of Riamondo de Soncino, envoy of the Duke of Milan, August 24, 1497, and the date of the parchment to Cabot by Henry VII., August 10, 1497, for discovery of the "New Isle."

board Cabot's ship, the Matthew, but we may properly imagine the eager anxiety with which Cabot scanned the west. Doubtless there were, indeed there must have been, those on board who shook their heads wisely, and predicted failure; who even mutinously murmured against the bold captain; however, on the twenty-fourth of June, at daybreak, a gray line was observed on the horizon. Was it a slender cloud just rising from the sea, or was it the long-looked-for land? Every eye was strained to the utmost to ascertain what it really was. As the sun rose it began to assume definite form, and to their great joy it proved to be land. Surely it was the coast of the Great Cham's dominion and the problem of reaching India had been solved. Such was the first opinion of Cabot. In the excitement of the moment he named it Prima Vista, and lowering a boat, went on shore. It was Saint John's day, and the good saint was not to be forgotten. An island near by afforded an opportunity to commemorate him, and was therefore named Saint John's Island.

Everything which the wondering eyes of the adventurers beheld was novel and strange. The land upon which they gazed had never before been pressed by the foot of a European. Mines of gold and precious stones might be near at hand; indeed, they might soon behold the very sources of India's great wealth, which had so long dazzled Europe.

In this state of mind they prepared a cross, and planting it in the earth with the banners of Saint George and Saint Mark floating over it, these pioneers

of England in the New World gathered about it with bowed heads, by this solemn act taking possession of the country in behalf of their king and people.

Although they watched warily for the appearance of men, none were seen, but by-and-by they came upon fallen trees bearing marks which attracted their attention. Were they made by human agency? So they opined; but soon all doubt of the near presence of men was removed, for here were snares set for the capture of beasts, and there, a needle of bone, lost by some savage, who had passed that way. It would not do to linger here and expose his company to the danger of attack from a foe, whose strength was unknown, and hastening to the shelter of his ship, Cabot set sail.

His course from this time becomes somewhat uncertain, but it would seem that he kept a northerly course along the forbidding shores of Labrador, till he reached the vicinity of Cape Chudleigh.

Everywhere were wonders to attract the attention and rouse the superstitious fears of his men. They would not go farther into the dark and dangerous North, and they murmured against the intrepid navigator, who knew no fear. With a mutinous crew, nothing could be done but to change his course towards the south, and this he did, skirting the coast of Newfoundland, which he took to be an archipelago, till he reached Cape Race, from whence, with a meager larder, he turned the prow of the Matthew towards England, which was reached in August.

The news of John Cabot's discovery was at once bruited over Europe, and excited others to emulate his example. In England he was the hero of the hour, and whenever he appeared in the streets of Bristol, richly appareled after the fashion of wealthy Venetians, crowds gathered about him, eager to see, and if chance offered, to question the great mariner, who had discovered the new land for England.

To the cruel bigot, who wrought his dismal schemes in the gloom of the Escurial, the news which he received from his envoy, Pedro de Ayala, was distasteful, and from that moment no opportunity was lost to obliterate all evidence of the great discovery, or to thwart English efforts in that direction.

Although the motley populace applauded, and the learned listened to him with grave approval, the importance of Cabot's discovery was hidden from them, as is so often the case with events which Providence has in especial charge; yet this discovery was to be the corner-stone of all England's future pretensions to the American continent.

When Cabot and his companions returned home, although the Scots no longer threatened the border, and the battle of Blackheath had been fought, practically settling the fate of Warbeck, the din of arms still disturbed the land. The news, however, which he brought, was of so much importance, that the king listened with interest to his stories of far-off seas, so crowded with fish as to render the spoil of nearer waters profitless, and of lands which might embosom treasures of infinite value. The "Great Admiral," as

he was now designated, had depicted the new land on a map, and had even constructed a globe showing its position thereon. He would skirt the coast from Prima Vista towards the tropics, and lo! Cipango, the island of spices and jewels, which would create in London a mart grander than that of far-famed Alexandria. It was an alluring prospect, and the thrifty king not only bestowed upon him a small gift, but granted him an annual pension to be paid from the revenues of the port of Bristol; besides, he licensed him to charter six ships and to enlist as many men as he might need to accompany him on a new expedition.

In the spring of 1498, John Cabot with probably his son Sebastian, accompanied by three hundred men, sailed from the port of Bristol with a fleet of fine vessels. The sailing of so important a fleet on an expedition which had excited such wide spread attention, was an event of too much interest to the people of Bristol to have passed unnoticed, and although no contemporary account of it has been preserved, we know that street, quay and old bridge, with its rambling houses overhanging it, were thronged with people eager to see the adventurers depart. From the number of men who accompanied Cabot, we must conclude that it was the intention to plant a colony at some place favorable to such an undertaking. The course of the fleet was towards the northwest, the region of ice, fog and tempest, but the vernal gales wafted it auspiciously from the pleasant shores of England, and all promised well for the adventurers, until as usual in those days of crude naval architecture, one of the

high-sterned, awkward ships became crippled, and it was decided best to send her back.

The other ships, after parting with their companion, held on their course, until the sterile shores of Iceland came to view. From here, Cabot set his course towards Labrador, a country, says Gomara, where "the land is utterly sterile and fruitless." This country he named "De la Tierra de los Baccalaos," for, as he sailed, his ships were at times almost "stayed" in their course by the vast schools of codfish through which they passed. It was a forbidding land. The rock-bound shores, flecked with masses of grisly moss, and bristling with a stunted growth of shaggy trees, shot in beetling crags above them, or broken in ragged masses almost to the level of the sea, which lashed itself into gleaming foam against these flinty barriers, made constant vigilance the price of safety.

Birds, strange in form and plumage, scared from their solitary haunts by the passing ships, flew screaming about them in countless numbers, and huge whales rising from the sea, rolled and plunged awkwardly about in sportive fashion; or, sprawling on some sunlit ledge, a bulky monster with tusks milk white, and eyes almost human in expression, would slip into the sea and vanish from vision like the phantom of a troubled dream. Again, as they passed some wooded slope, where the snows were dissolving in the meager sunlight, a stag, larger than they had ever beheld, would start up, and shaking his antlered head, dash into the thicket to be seen no more; or as they passed some quiet cove, they would witness a stranger sight,

for here the bears, undisturbed by man, would watch for the fish as they swarmed along the shore, cod and salmon and soles "about a yard in length," and seizing the lissome things with their sharp claws, would draw them a-land to satisfy their hunger.

Cabot had brought men with him to leave at some suitable spot. They were largely criminals, probably men who had been engaged in the late rebellion, and these he landed, leaving them to establish themselves in the country as best they could, while he passed on towards the north, in search of an open passage to the west. It was not long before the inhabitants of this wild land were seen, uncouth and brutish men, clad in the furs of beasts. Surprise and dread were mutual. By the English, these wild men, weaponed with bow and arrow, sling, spear and club, and regaling themselves on raw flesh, were regarded as leaguers of the prince of darkness; while they, peering furtively from some coigne of vantage at the white-winged monsters, which had so suddenly invaded their hitherto undisturbed solitudes, looked upon the white men whom they bore, as beings of a higher sphere. So passed Cabot onward towards the north, amid glittering icebergs, at night beholding with superstitious dread the heavens flaming from horizon to zenith with ruddy light, as in apocalyptic vision, and finding the land ever running to the north to his "great displeasure." Entering the open waters of Hudson's Straits, the intrepid navigator would have doubtless kept on, but his men, made of less heroic stuff, mutinied, and refused to proceed farther, so he was compelled to turn back and follow the coast southward.

But how fared it with the men whom he had landed? Their fate is obscure. It is said that nearly all perished from cold, which might imply that some did not, and that these were either taken on board again by Cabot upon his return, or subsequently escaped. Be this as it may, Cabot coasted southward, probably keeping in sight the pleasant shores which stretch from Maine to Florida, when finding his provisions becoming scanty, and no opening to the west to reward his long search, he set his course for England, bearing with him three natives of the country, whom he had secured, probably with the intention of using them in the future for interpreters. These men, clad in the skins of wild beasts, feeding on raw flesh, and "in their demeanor like to bruite beastes," Cabot presented to the king, and, although their appearance was then so unpromising, two years later Robert Fabian saw two of them in Westminster palace, in English costume, and mistook them for Englishmen, so greatly had their appearance changed.

The news of Cabot's success, to which a novel interest was added by the appearance of the wild men whom he had brought from the new land, was eagerly listened to, and gave a fresh impulse to the spirit of adventure. Henry, however, distracted by the cares of government, declined the proffered services of the successful navigator for a voyage the next year, and although it has been supposed that Cabot undertook discovery on his own account, we have no certain knowledge of this; indeed, we strangely lose sight of the "Great Admiral," and his son Sebastian, whose fame was to eclipse that of his father, comes promi-

nently into view. Whether he merited this fame is a question. Although he lived threescore years after the discovery of America by his father, and occupied offices of great distinction under the Spanish crown, he certainly accomplished nothing to warrant the reputation which he enjoyed; and we must largely attribute this fame to the achievements of his father, which he unfilially appropriated to himself.

It is unfortunate that we do not possess a detailed account of the Cabot voyages. That very valuable material relating to them existed when Hakluyt published his Divers Voyages in 1582, we know, for he gives us to understand that he had "overseene all of Sebastian Cabote's own mappes and discourses drawne and written by himselfe, which are in the custodie of Master William Worthington." This is the last we know of these precious documents, and as Worthington was placed in the office of Sebastian Cabot by Philip of Spain, shortly after the latter took up his abode in England as the consort of Queen Mary, it has been conjectured that they found their way into Spanish hands, like many other English documents relating to western discovery. If so, Spain profited little by them, for English gall was better than Spanish guile, and won of right, and though the interesting details of John Cabot's great discovery are lost to the world, his fame is safe, for he gave to England a great continent, which we as his successors enjoy; and while that continent exists, the name of John Cabot will be known as its discoverer.

Death makes no conquest of this conquerer,
For now he lives in fame though not in life.

THE DAWN OF WESTERN DISCOVERY.

BY PROF. J. WILLIAM BLACK, PH. D., COLBY UNIVERSITY.

We are approaching the close of another century in the world's progress. It has been marked by great achievements. Four years ago, in the city of Chicago, we had occasion to celebrate the anniversary of the landfall of Columbus, and to witness many illustrations of the onward march of the civilizing efforts of Western Christendom. We wondered at the marvels of man's ingenuity, and beheld numerous contrivances which he has devised for overcoming nature, combatting disease, annihilating time and space. We further observed the various ways in which man's power to accomplish things and to profit by the knowledge which the ages have entrusted to him, have been materially increased.

All this progress and development has been brought about in a remarkably short time. In America, we find to-day a people as highly developed, industrially and commercially, as highly educated and cultured as any in the world. What we lack in antiquity we make up for in enterprise. We go back but four hundred years to find this country a forest, with all its wealth of resources practically untouched. As we look about us to-day, knowing what changes these few centuries have wrought, and conscious, it may be, of the debt we owe to the discoverer whose courage and persistence opened to Europeans and to European civili-

zation this vast area, we cannot refrain from recalling with emphasis the statement of Charles Sumner, "The discovery of America by Christopher Columbus is the greatest event of secular history."

This closing decade of the ninteenth century is the anniversary of a decade embracing many important discoveries. A score and more of great explorers were stimulated by Columbus to similar deeds of valor. Columbus died little knowing the value of his great discovery, but the mysteries of the hitherto unknown West (or East as he thought) were soon to be revealed by illustrious followers. While Vasco da Gama was rounding the Cape of Good Hope and reaching Asia by an eastern route, John Cabot, on behalf of his adopted country, England, first landed upon the coast of North America and claimed it on behalf of the English sovereign, Henry VII.

The importance of the Cabot discoveries cannot be overestimated, not alone for England but for America as well. They marked the beginning of England's maritime supremacy. It was in reality the beginning of England's colonial system — the dawn of those days of English discovery and occupation, of those heroic enterprises soon to follow, which have led Charles Kingsley to say: "It was the men of Devon, the Drakes and Hawkins', Gilberts and Raleighs, Grenviles and Oxenhams, and a host more of forgotten worthies, whom we shall learn one day to honour as they deserve, to whom she owes her commerce, her colonies, her very existence." [1] Upon the Cabot dis-

[1] Kingsley's Westward Ho!, p. 1.

coveries, England based her claim to North America, and acquired a moral prestige thereby which aided the English in their ultimate overthrow of French dominion in North America in the eighteenth century.

To this event, we owe, perhaps, the fact that we are Englishmen by descent, living in a land peopled by Englishmen, civilized by Englishmen, and blessed with the democratic institutions of our Teutonic ancestry. It is a most appropriate tribute to English enterprise and pluck, that we celebrate this day the anniversary of the discovery of North America.

Almost from the beginnings of history, the movement of the races of the earth has been westward. The discovery of America marks the completion of a movement which had its origin in Asia and is but a later phase of the great migration of the Aryan peoples. It was but another of those onward and upward steps in the movement of mankind toward the goal of a world civilization, and is still another illustration of the continuity of history, the interlinking of the East with the West. The history of America is bound together with the history of Europe. No more can America to-day be cut loose from Europe than can the history of America be considered independently of that of Europe.

While the history of the world is continuous and unbroken, a never-ending panorama, sometimes great turning-points in the world's progress are used to distinguish between the periods into which history for our convenience is divided. The fifteenth century was such a turning-point. To the close of this century

the discovery of America belongs, and while it is an event of modern times the preparation for it began in antiquity. Columbus and Cabot alike were the creatures of forces and circumstances operating from ancient times. "A law of nature," says the historian Payne, has drawn man towards the setting sun as the needle is drawn toward the pole."[1]

The knowledge of the sphericity of the earth is not the product of modern cosmography, it was known to the ancients. However, this knowledge was not to reach the stage of reality, until the period of the Renaissance, when, along with the revival of letters, art and classical antiquities, occurred also a revival of geographical science and discovery, which was destined to revolutionize the thought, commerce, and economic life of Europe. America was the product of the Renaissance.

The fifteenth century is one of the most eventful in the world's history. Europe had awakened from the long sleep that followed the decline and fall of the empire. Italy, once the heart of the Roman empire, became again the center of the new culture, the new civilization, the new empire of knowledge, destined to surpass the old empire of law.

The beginning of this awakening may be traced back to the eleventh century, which marks the rise of the Crusade movement. This movement, having its origin in religion, brought the European into contact with the Oriental, broadened the intellectual horizon of both, increased their respect for each other, bred

[1] Payne — History of America, p. 25.

the spirit of tolerance, extended the knowledge of the world's geography, and opened up new routes of navigation and commerce to the profit especially of the Italian republics, Venice, Genoa and others.

The feudal system was declining, social and political freedom advancing. The rising municipalities were throwing off the yoke of the feudal lords and suzerains, and acquiring the privileges of democracy and self government. These political movements were made possible by the increased enlightenment of Western Europe, and the influx of Eastern culture. Universities were established in Italy and elsewhere, and the philosophy of Aristotle and the ancients was studied.

The dark ages were like the night before the dawn, a time of preparation when Europe was acquiring intellectual or potential energy, when the new Germanic forces were assimilating the Latin civilization, when new states were in process of formation out of the decayed empire; and when the time was ripe, as in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the numerous activities of Europe manifested themselves in many directions.

Indeed, the Renaissance meant, in the words of Symonds, "the attainment of self-conscious freedom by the human spirit manifested in European races." [1] Man no longer stopped satisfied with medieval thought, but sought the truth in the classics of antiquity and the revelations of science. Great scholars stood upon the threshold of man's intellectual

[1] Symonds — Age of Despots, p. 4.

emancipation. Men like Roger Bacon, Abelard, Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio announced the dawn of a new era, when the truth should make men free, and free men should make for the truth.

It is impossible in a few words to give an adequate idea of the value of the Renaissance to mankind. In literature, it is associated with the revival of the study of the Greek language, Greek philosophy, classical antiquities, and cosmography. In art, with the sculptures of Michelangelo, the paintings and frescoes of Giotto, Titian, Fra Angelico and Raphael. In science, with the invention of the telescope and the publication of the Copernican theory of our solar system; likewise, with the invention of the compass which enabled the mariner to sail beyond the Mediterranean and far out into the ocean, hitherto the unknown sea. And again, the middle of the fifteenth century saw the invention of the movable type, the printing press, and linen paper, all of which cooperated to spread knowledge broadcast over Europe, and played an important role in preparing the medieval mind for great exploits and discoveries.

Not only was the Renaissance the discovery of man, but as well the discovery of the world. As mentioned above, the greatest fruit of this era was the revival of geographical discovery, resulting in the finding of America, the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope and the circumnavigation of the globe by Magellan (1519-22). While the Renaissance thus brought about the discovery of America, it must not be inferred that the portentous event was an isolated

phenomenon, nor due to any sudden inspiration on the part of the discoverer. The idea that there was a new and undiscovered world or a new and shorter way to find the old one dawned very slowly upon the mind of the European. While the sphericity of the earth was known to the ancient, many a century separated the theory from the realization of the fact. These were centuries of preparation for the event. It is interesting to note how long the world worked upon the solution of the problem. The earliest conception of the earth's surface was that of a plane, of which Greece and the adjacent countries formed the center, and which, in turn, was surrounded by a vast expanse of ocean, the whole supported in some mysterious way. Such at any rate was the world's knowledge of the geography of the earth in the Homeric age. Beyond the Pillars of Hercules was a limitless, or boundless ocean. The Phenician and Greek mariners of antiquity explored the mysteries of the Mediterranean, planted colonies on its shores, and occasionally tempted fate in the broad Atlantic. It was an apparently easy step for the imaginative mind of the Greek to conjecture the existence of other habitable lands besides those of the Mediterranean that alone were known to them. The ocean to the west, likewise the ocean to the east of the old world was known. What was more natural than the supposition that there was some way of reaching the one from the other. Aristotle predicted the existence of other worlds (*οἰκουμέναι*) "separated from the known one by the sea," and doubtless represented the prevailing

opinions of Greek philosophers and geographers. It took over eighteen centuries to prove the truth of Aristotle's teaching. Connected with this notion of the existence of other habitable worlds, is the other of the sphericity of the earth, in which Aristotle likewise believed. He says: —

> The opinion of those who believe the region of the Columns of Hercules to be connected with the region of India, and thus assert the unity of the ocean, is therefore not wholly to be rejected. Among other indications, they say that the elephant species is to be found in both places, and that probably therefore they are no great distance apart.[1]

In this indirect way only did Aristotle credit a belief that was gaining currency among the Greeks that after all India and Spain were not very far apart, Beyond the pale of Alexander's conquests were worlds that remained for Columbus and Cabot and Verrazano to conquer. Eratosthenes[2] the eminent Greek authority on geography and author of a γεωγραφικά in three books, gave us the first approximately accurate measurement of the earth's circumference, putting the figure at something like 250,000 stadia.[3] Of this area, it was conjectured that one-third was covered by the earth, as known, leaving the other two-thirds to be the distance between Europe and India by water This calculation was not far from the truth and had it not been modified in favor of a more modest estimate of the distance from Asia to Spain, it is possible that the discovery of America might have been still further postponed.

[1] Aristotle—De Caelo, II, 14. Payne—History of America, p. 28.
[2] 276 B. C.-196 B. C.
[3] Equivalent to 25,000 miles.

Strabo,[1] writing his great work on geography about the beginning of the Christian era, takes his cue from Homer, whom he calls the father of geography, and whom he quotes, to prove that the earth is surrounded by ocean, in the following terms: "For to the green earth's utmosts bounds I go to visit there the parent of the god, Oceanus." But Strabo himself further adds significantly:—

Perception and experience alike inform us that the earth we inhabit is an island, since, wherever men have approached the termination of the land, the sea, which we designate ocean, has been met with; and reason assures us of the similarity of those places which our senses have not been permitted to survey. For in the East the land occupied by the Indians, and in the West by the Iberians and Maurusians, is wholly encompassed [by water], and so is the greater part on the south and north. And as to what remains as yet unexplored by us, because navigators, sailing from opposite points, have not hitherto fallen in with each other, it is not much, as anyone may see who will compare the distances between those places with which we are already acquainted. Nor is it likely that the Atlantic Ocean is divided into two seas by narrow isthmuses so placed as to prevent circumnavigation: how much more probable that it is confluent and uninterrupted! *Those who have returned from an attempt to circumnavigate the earth do not say they have been prevented from continuing their voyage by any opposing continent — for the sea remained perfectly open — but through want of resolution and the scarcity of provision.* This theory, too, accords better with the ebb and flow of the ocean; for the phenomenon, both in the increase and diminution, is everywhere identical, or at all events has but little difference, as if produced by the agitation of one sea and resulting from one cause.

In another place Strabo foreshadows the discovery of the law of gravitation:—

[1] 63 B. C.–21 A. D.

As the size of the earth has been demonstrated by other writers, we shall here take for granted and receive as accurate what they have advanced. We shall also assume that the earth is spheroidal, that its surface is likewise spheroidal, and, above all, that bodies have a tendency towards its center, which latter point is clear to the perception of the most average understanding. However, we may show summarily that the earth is spheroidal from the consideration that all things however distant tend to its center, and that everybody is attracted towards its center of gravity: this is more distinctly proved from observations of the sea and sky, for here the evidence of the senses, and common observation, is alone requisite. The convexity of the sea is a further proof of this to those who have sailed; for they cannot perceive lights at a distance when placed at the same level as their eyes, but, if raised on high, they at once become perceptible to vision, though at the same time further removed. So, when the eye is raised, it sees what before was utterly imperceptible. Homer speaks of this when he says,

"Lifted up on the vast wave, he quickly beheld afar."

Sailors, as they approach their destination, behold the shore continually raising itself to their view; and objects which had at first seemed low begin to elevate themselves.

Strabo in one particular improved upon the conjecture of Aristotle in asserting that the new world or worlds might be found "in the same latitudes as the old." Aristotle had intimated they might be found in the Southern ocean. Later writers and geographers, however, reduced in their estimates, the distance by sea between Europe and Asia and the solution of the problem seemed nearer at hand.

Cicero,[1] writing in the first century before Christ and inheriting, in common with the Romans, the scientific knowledge and theories of the Greeks, did much to

1 106 B. C.–43 B. C.

encourage a popular belief in the existence of new and undiscovered worlds.

Seneca,[1] the Roman sage and poet, even advanced the opinion that the distance was so short that it could doubtless be traversed in a few days with favorable winds, and elsewhere, he emphasizes the notion of Aristotle, and predicts the existence of new worlds in the following terms :—

> Venient annis saecula seris,
> Quibus Oceanus vincula rerum
> Laxet, et ingens pateat tellus,
> Tethysque novos detegat orbes,
> Nec sit terris ultima Thule.[2]

TRANSLATION: — "There will come a time when Ocean shall loosen the bonds by which we have been confined, when an immense land shall lie revealed, and Tethys [wife of Oceanus] shall disclose new worlds, and shall be no longer a remotest Thule." (Fiske—Discovery of America, I, 370).

Remarkable though this prophecy be, a yet greater significance attaches to it when we remember that Columbus pondered deeply over this verse of Seneca's; and we are informed that upon a copy which belonged to his son Ferdinand, now kept in Seville, the above quoted passage is to be found marked and annotated in the margin to the effect that his father Christopher had fulfilled the prophecy in 1492.[3]

Ptolemy, the eminent Greek geographer of the second century, emphasized anew the hope of reaching Asia by a western route and upon his map extended the African continent to the south pole, thus

[1] 60 B. C.–37 A. D. [2] Seneca, Medea, Act II, 371. [3] Winsor—Columbus, p. 119.

apparently estopping all further prospects of rounding Africa by an eastern voyage.

But the wisdom of the Greeks lay dormant in the ashes of the fallen empire. The church in the middle ages assumed a hostile attitude toward the theories of the Greek cosmographers. But the truth is eternal and will not die. It is so much stored up energy. It only awaited the dawn of a brighter day, when the minds of men were freed from dogma and theological intolerance, to come forth as a living and creative force.

The introduction of Saracenic culture into Europe through Sicily and Spain did much toward keeping alive the Aristotelian and Ptolemaic theories of the geography of the world.

The forerunners of the Renaissance epoch foreshadowed the approaching dawn of the age of discovery. The divine poet, Dante,[1] predicts in the Inferno the discovery of a new world.

> O brothers, who amid a hundred thousand
> Perils, I said, have come unto the West,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Be ye unwilling to deny the knowledge
> Following the Sun, of the unpeopled world.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> So eager did I render my companions
> With this brief exhortation, for the voyage
> That then I hardly could have held them back.[2]

Thus speaks Odysseus, exhorts his comrades to the "pursuit of virtue and knowledge." Dante had many followers and believers.

[1] 1263-1321.
[2] Dante—Inferno, Canto XXVI, 112-120. (Longfellow's translation.)

The poet Pulci[1] a native of Florence and contemporary of Toscanelli, utters the prediction[2] to be found in Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella. The prophecy reads as follows : —

> Know that this theory is false; his bark
> The daring mariner shall urge far o'er
> The western wave, a smooth and level plain,
> Albeit the earth is fashioned like a wheel.
> Man was in ancient days of grosser mould,
> And Hercules might blush to learn how far
> Beyond the limits he had vainly set,
> The dullest sea-boat soon shall wing her way.
> Men shall descry another hemisphere,
> Since to one common center all things tend;
> So earth, by curious mystery divine
> Well-balanced, hangs amid the starry spheres.
> At our Antipodes are cities, states,
> And thronged empires, ne'er divined of yore,
> But see, the Sun speeds on his western path
> To glad the nations with expected light.[3]

Truly the poets may be called our greatest historians.

There are not lacking numerous other confirmations of the above prophecies. Two friars of the thirteenth century, Albertus Magnus the German and Roger Bacon the Englishman, combatted the false teachings of the Middle Ages concerning the Antipodes and revived the belief in a western route to India. Indeed, the latter in his great work "Opus Majus," summarizes the views of the Greek and Arabian scholars concerning the globe and its habitability : —

"Aristotle says there is not much ocean between the western parts of Spain and the eastern parts of India. He thinks that more than a fourth part of the surface of the globe is habitable. Averrhoes

[1] 1431-87.
[2] Pulci—Morgante Maggiore, Canto XXV, St. 229-230.
[3] Prescott—Ferdinand and Isabella, II, 117.

confirms this. Seneca says that this sea might be crossed in a few days with a favourable wind. Pliny says that people have actually sailed from the Arabian Gulf to Cadiz. Now the Arabian Gulf is a whole year's voyage from the Indian Sea (at the extremity of Asia), so that it is clear that the eastern extremity of Asia cannot be a long way from us. The sea between Spain and Asia at any rate cannot possibly cover three-fourths of the surface of the globe. Besides, it is written in the fourth Book of Esdras, that six parts of the earth are habitable, and the seventh is covered with water. . . Therefore I say that though the *οἰκουμένη* of Ptolemy be confined within one-fourth of the globe's surface, more of that surface is really habitable. Aristotle must have known more than other people, because by Alexander's favour he sent out two thousand men to enquire about these matters. So must Seneca; for the Emperor Nero sent out people to explore in the same way. From all this it follows that the habitable surface of the earth must be considerable, and that which is covered with water but small." [1]

An especial value attaches to the work of Bacon, when we are told that it was this collection of views, which, when transmitted to the knowledge of Columbus through a later publication, the "Imago Mundi" of Alliacus or Pierre D'Ailly (Bishop of Cambrai), made a profound impression upon the mind of the discoverer. The latter work was written in 1410, though not printed before 1490. Columbus evidently knew the work and its contents thoroughly, for a copy of it, with his own marginal annotations is still preserved among the priceless relics of the Columbian Library at Seville. The contraction of the distance between Asia and Europe by water was thus further encouraged, and the confidence of Columbus in these views is evidenced by the way in which he quoted them.

[1] Bacon—Opus Majus, p. 183. Payne—History of America, pp. 50-51.

There were still other evidences of the extent of the earth, besides the theories of the geographers and the philosophers. From the earliest time, attempts were made to fathom the mysteries of the great sea of darkness and find the lost continent of Atlantis. The oldest masters of the sea were the Phenicians. They explored the Mediterranean and penetrated beyond the Pillars of Hercules at an early date.

Herodotus relates that Africa was circumnavigated about 600 B. C. by Phenician sailors, who sailed south from the Red Sea, rounded the Cape of Good Hope from east to west, and returned by way of the Pillars of Hercules. The thing that Herodotus most discredited was the statement that in rounding Africa they had the sun on their right hand. This certainly is the most significant and plausible feature of the narrative, and while the story in its entirety is disputed, it does seem to show that the equator had been discovered and crossed at this early time. The fact remains, however, that the event was of little or no consequence so far as it affected the views of the Greek geographers.

In the fifth century B. C., Hanno, the Carthaginian, inheriting the maritime instinct of the mother state, Phenicia, sailed out into the Atlantic and along the African coast as far as Sierra Leone, thus anticipating the Portuguese in the discovery of the African gold coast by twenty centuries. Certain of the island groups off the coast of Africa were also doubtless first discovered by the Carthaginians.

Corresponding to the exploration of the African coast and southern sea prior to the Christian era, it is interesting to note also the voyage of the famous Greek mariner from Marseilles, Pytheas, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, who rounded the northwest coast of Europe, penetrated to the unknown seas of the North, visited Great Britain and perhaps Iceland, and who ventured up the Baltic as far as the river Vistula.

The conquests of Alexander in Asia were not only military but scientific, and certainly the world owes a great debt of gratitude to this military chieftain for the scientific unfolding of the mysteries and glories of India and in stimulating further inquiry and research into the extent of the world. Why this eagerness to find a short sea-route to India? Because the conquests of Alexander revealed India to Europe and encouraged the desire to cultivate a trade with a country that was reputed to be so rich in precious things. This desire which lay dormant during the period of the Dark Ages was revived towards the close of the Middle Ages. The Tartars overran Western Asia, the Orient and Eastern Europe and came face to face with Christian civilization. The Church of Rome now sent its missionaries among the heathen Turks to convert them to Christianity, and commercial Europe sent its tradesmen to Asia to profit by traffic with them. In this way, the East and West were again brought nearer to each other, and the wonders of China, or Cathay, as it was called, were gradually unfolded. It became known

that an eastern ocean bordered upon the kingdom of Cathay, and it was but a short step to the apparently logical conclusion that this was the same ocean that washed the western shores of Europe.

Knowledge of Asia was brought more vividly before the European, as the result of the voyages of the Polos, the famous Venetian travelers of the thirteenth century. In 1260, Nicolo and Maffeo Polo, two brothers, went to the Crimea on a trading expedition, whence they continued their travels till they reached the court of the Great Khan in the northwest province of Cathay. They met with a good reception and the Great Khan sent a message through them to the Pope, asking for Christian missionaries to come and convert his subjects. Shortly after their return to Italy, they set out again for China (1271), taking with them Marco, the son of Nicolo Polo.

Marco learned the languages of Asia, went into the Khan's service and remained there until 1292, a period of twenty years. Marco traveled about Asia a good deal, performed a number of diplomatic missions, became widely acquainted with the people and the country, and made copious notes on his observations. In 1292, the Polos returned by sea, sailing from "Zaiton" (Chinchow), and reached Persia two years later and Venice in 1295. Three years after this, during a naval war then waging between the Venetians and the Genoese, Marco Polo was captured by the latter.

While in captivity, the great traveler was employed in preparing his famous book entitled "The Book of

Ser Marco Polo Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East." This voluminous work attracted great attention. In it Marco gives a glowing account of the wonders and riches of "India" (the vague term signifying the whole of Asia), the Great Khan's empire and its administration, the wealth of the trade and manufactories which he saw on every hand. Moreover, he described a wonderful island, called Chipangu, lying some fifteen hundred miles east of the continent.

"The people," says Polo, "are white, civilized, and well-favored. They are idolaters, and are dependent on nobody. And I can tell you the quantity of gold they have is endless; for they find it in their own islands (and the king does not allow it to be exported). Few merchants visit the country because it is so far from the main land. I will tell you a wonderful thing about the Palace of the Lord of that island. You must know that he hath a great palace which is entirely roofed with fine gold, just as our churches are roofed with lead, insomuch that it would scarcely be possible to estimate its value. Moreover, all the pavement of the palace, and the floors of its chambers, are entirely of gold. They have also pearls in abundance, which are of a rose color, but fine, big and round, and quite as valuable as the white ones. They have also quantities of other precious stones."

Columbus had a copy of Marco Polo's book and treasured it highly, for it proved a great source of inspiration to him. The new country was now opened up to him by one who had seen it. This was better than the theories of the cosmographers. Marco Polo may, therefore, be regarded as a forerunner of his own fellow countrymen, Columbus and John Cabot, and the publication of his travels marks another of the great turning-points in the discovery of America.

The Italian republics were the commercial carriers and middlemen of the medieval time. The caravans of Genoa penetrated to the interior of Asia, and the ships of Venice to the ports of the Orient. Europe was flooded with eastern products, brought to Italian ports and distributed thence to all the countries of Europe. With the broadening of the intellectual horizon of the European; with the creation of new wants for the physical and mental man; and with the creation of even greater desires to satisfy those wants, other forces came into play and assumed a share in the shaping of the events of the fifteenth century.

The new nationalities of Western Europe were rising into prominence and were becoming aggressive in trade. They were jealous of the trade monopoly which the Italian republics had long enjoyed. Portugal and Spain, in particular, were stimulated to renewed efforts to find a water route to India and thus circumvent this trade monopoly of the Venetians and Genoese. Again, Western Europe felt sorely the need of a larger supply of the precious metals. Never has the purchasing power of money reached so high a point as it did between 1490 and 1510. This was occasioned:—

1. By an increase of trade out of proportion to the increase of the monetary supply, for the Crusades had stimulated European trade wonderfully.

2. The Eastern trade occasioned a heavy drain of European silver to Asia.

Furthermore, the occupation of the Eastern shores of the Mediterranean by the Ottoman Turks was fol-

lowed in 1453, by the fall of Constantinople, and the Eastern empire had come to an end. Turkish pirates now sailed the Eastern Mediterranean. The trade of the Italian republics in the East was thus summarily cut off or seriously hampered. Could not an "outside route" to the Indies be found? That was the great problem of the hour. What the outcome of this quest was we already know.

With the discovery of America, the attention of the civilized world was transferred from Italy to Spain and England; with the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco da Gama in 1497-98, the commercial supremacy of the Italian republics was transferred to Spain and Portugal; and with the unearthing of the treasures of the new world by Cortez and Pizarro, the economic necessities of Europe were appeased.

But it behooves us to examine more in detail some of the steps that furthered this process of discovery. Casting aside the Aristotelian notion that there were other inhabited worlds in the midst of the vast ocean, the desire to find "India" was now the ruling passion. Two entirely independent lines of exploration led ultimately to the same result. One was the voyages of the Northmen in the Northern Altantic. The other the explorations of the Portuguese navigators in the Southern Atlantic.

The Portuguese were bent upon finding an eastern route to India. The island groups off the west coast of Africa were known to the ancients as we have seen, for the Carthaginian sailors had discovered the Canaries and the Madeiras, and probably the Azores; but their

discoveries were made null and void by virtue of the destruction of Carthage by the Romans, who had little or no interest in maritime exploration. After the lapse of many centuries, the Genoese rediscovered the Canaries (1291) and other Atlantic islands. Deeming the attempt to circumnavigate Africa futile, they abandoned their discoveries, and left the coast free to Portuguese enterprise in the centuries immediately following. By the Portuguese, the Canaries were rediscovered and colonized (1418-25). The Azores were likewise discovered, and seemed to afford a stepping-stone to India. These achievements were due largely to the enterprising efforts of one man. This man was Prince Henry, the fourth son of King John of Portugal and a contemporary and forerunner of Columbus. Being a far-seeing man, he acquainted himself with Africa and saw in the diversion of the trade of the gold coast and the slave traffic from the Moors of Tunis to Portugal great profit for his native country.

At Sagres, the sacred promontory at Land's End in Southern Portugal, Henry founded a famous school of astronomy, gathered around him students, mariners, and map-makers, and from this place organized and despatched expeditions to the coast of Africa. To this course Prince Henry was impelled by other motives than those of gain. He saw the possibility of revealing the secrets of the Southern Atlantic and of finding a way to India. For a long time hitherto, no one had ventured beyond a dangerous point on the northwest coast of Africa, called "Cape Non," and so-called

because of a Portuguese tradition to the effect that "whoever passes Cape Non will return or *not*." The warning was understood, and hitherto heeded. But Henry was not to be deterred.

Not only did Portugal inherit the maritime glory of the Genoese, but acquired the skill of their sailors as well, for Prince Henry had in his employ the ablest and most venturesome of Italian sea-captains. Their efforts were rewarded by the discovery of the Cape Verde Islands in 1460 and the coast of Sierra Leone in 1462. Prince Henry died in the following year, without living to see the aim of his life accomplished; but the work of discovery went on. In 1471, the equator was crossed, and Africa was still found habitable in this region, thereby exploding an old theory to the contrary.

The nephew of Henry, Prince John II. of Portugal, continued the expeditions of discovery. In August, 1486, a memorable voyage was begun under the command of one Bartholomew Dias, which resulted in the discovery of the southernmost point of the African coast and revealed the long-sought Indian Ocean. Dias, however, only continued several hundred miles up the eastern coast of Africa before turning homeward, and hence did not come to appreciate fully the value of his discovery. It was left to da Gama twelve years later to demonstrate the practicability of an outside eastern route to India. "Dias" says Fiske, "named the southernmost point of the African coast 'the stormy Cape.'" But when this circumstance was re-

ported to King John His Majesty said, "Nay, let it rather be called the Cape of Good Hope."[1] For the event was a happy omen, and, forsooth, the possible solution of the Portuguese problem. This was the most remarkable voyage antedating the landfall of Columbus, and was especially noteworthy for the reason that Bartholomew Columbus, a younger brother of Christopher, was associated with Dias on the expedition.

But let us turn for a moment to the North, and see what had been accomplished in another quarter of the ocean. As the Portuguese followed in the wake of the ancient Carthaginians, so the Northmen of the ninth and tenth centuries followed in the track of Pytheas the ancient Greek voyager. It is reputed that the latter visited Iceland which is identified by some with the "Thule" of the Romans.

In the ninth century (874) Iceland was colonized by the Norse and became their first stepping-stone to the continent of America. In the tenth century, the Northmen founded a colony on the southwest coast of Greenland, some of the remains of which, I understand, may be seen to this day. Greenland therefore was the second stepping-stone to America, and it was now only a short time before the coast of North America was reached by these hardy adventurers. Yet this feat, which was accomplished in 986, does not seem so great an undertaking as the efforts of the Portuguese and of Columbus, for the distance to America was shorter by the route which the Norse selected.

[1] Fiske—Discovery of America, 1, 332.

We cannot follow the interesting account of the new country, Vineland and its discovery, revealed in the Norse saga ; and perhaps it is unnecessary, for this question immediately presents itself — Of what avail was this conquest, even though it be "the first discovery of America by Europeans?" The Norse discoveries were not followed up and were of no benefit to European civilization. Moreover, the European world of the year 1000 was not ripe for the discovery. But the Norse discoveries are at least significant in that they suggest the route afterward followed by John Cabot and it is highly probable that they were known to him and the seamen of Bristol.

The voyages of the Norsemen had left behind them a tradition that a large island lay somewhere off in the North Atlantic Ocean. It appeared upon many of the maps or charts of the time under various titles, as the "New Land," "Island of Brazil," "Antilia" or some other designation.

To the same category as the Norse discoveries, belong also the explorations of the Zeno brothers in the fourteenth century. They were Venetians, but little is known of their achievments. It was not until sometime after the discovery of America (1558) that their voyages in the Northern Atlantic became known to the world. Some letters and an old map or sailing chart were unearthed in Venice by a descendant. The map is unique and upon it are found two strange lands named "Estotiland" and "Drogeo" and lying off to the southwest of Greenland. From the meager accounts contained in the Zeno correspondence, some

authorities identify them with Newfoundland and North America respectively. This knowledge, however, could have had little or no effect on the discoveries of Columbus or Cabot, for it was guarded as a family secret for over a century and a half.

When the Portuguese navigators had by 1474 reached the equator and still failed to find the southernmost extremity of Africa, the King of Portugal thereupon applied to the famous astronomer and physicist, Toscanelli, of Florence, to know whether or not there might be a shorter route to India than the one around the coast of Africa.

Right here we note another turning-point in the discovery of America, for Columbus was meditating upon this same proposition and contemplated seeking the advice of the same eminent authority.

The reply of Toscanelli caused a revival of the discussion of the western route and profoundly influenced Columbus, who longed for an opportunity to prove its existence. Toscanelli's letter dates from June 25, 1474. Copies of this letter and of the sailing chart[1] of Toscanelli were sent also to Columbus, when the latter a short time after wrote to the Florentine cosmographer.

Toscanelli writes: —

> And wonder not if I describe as "Western" those parts where the spices are, and which are commonly called "Eastern:" for those parts may be reached by sailing straight to the west beneath the

[1] It is noteworthy that Columbus carried Toscanelli's map on his first voyage, using it as a sailing chart; and there are those who give Toscanelli the credit of inspiring Columbus for his voyage of discovery.

globe, just as they may be reached overland by going straight to the east above the globe.[1]

In reply to a second letter from Columbus, Toscanelli encouraged the discoverer in the following terms: —

> I regard as noble and grand your project of sailing from east to west according to the indications furnished by the map which I sent you. . . .

Toscanelli also betrays his dependence upon the travels of Marco Polo and others for the eloquent description of the kingdom of Cathay which his letter contained.

The errors of Toscanelli's map are as significant and had doubtless as much to do with Columbus' undertaking as the correctness of the general theory underlying its construction. Toscanelli was influenced by the current notion that there was a large island, "Antilia," it may be, somewhere in the mid-Atlantic, and this he placed at a distance of thirty degrees west of Spain. On the other hand, the great island of "Cipango" lay only fifty degrees west of this, and the latter in turn was but fifty degrees from the mainland of Asia or Cathay. It could be therefore, he conjectured, a comparatively easy matter to pass from one to the other and finally reach India.

When these statements are coupled with the fact that Toscanelli estimated the circumference of the earth with approximate correctness, but blundered in assigning two-thirds of this distance to Europe and

[1] Harrisse—Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima; Winsor's Columbus, pp. 108-110; Payne—America, 112-115; Fiske—Discovery of America, I, 356-362.

Asia, leaving only some six thousand miles of water to be traversed in the western voyage to India, we can realize how attractive to a mind like Columbus' the outlook must have seemed. Columbus thought that the distance from the Canaries to Cipango could not be over twenty-five hundred miles, which, in reality, is nearly ten thousand miles less than the real distance. Had it not been for this error of calculation, who knows but the discovery of the new continent might have been indefinitely postponed.

It is not within the scope of this paper, however, to follow further the fortunes of Columbus. It will suffice to recall but a few other circumstances connected with his enterprise. While events favored the discovery at this time, to Columbus in particular belongs the credit of adhering persistently to his belief in a western route, of realizing the magnitude of the undertaking, and in refusing to begin the voyage of discovery until his plans were fully and thoroughly made. The Gulf Stream had occasionally brought drift from some unknown land to the shores of Europe. This to his mind was significant. Further, Columbus had knowledge of the trade winds, which might be expected to help the European mariner on a westward voyage, and was encouraged the more.

Better ships were constructed than ever before, and with them and the compass which was quite generally used in fifteenth century navigation, it was now possible to venture farther upon the seas and brave severer tempests. These things were known to the great discoverer. Furthermore, he had sailed the Atlantic,

as far north as Iceland, as far south as the coast of Guinea. He was familiar with the stories of the Portuguese sailors about the Atlantic islands and the coast of Africa; he knew through his brother Bartholomew the length of Dias' voyage around the Cape of Good Hope; he was moreover, thoroughly acquainted with the best thought of ancient and medieval cosmographers.

Haunted by the desire to reach India and test his belief in the existence of a western route, trained in the school of Prince Henry the Navigator, this Genoese mariner and map-maker offered to add fame to his adopted country, Portugal, only to have his offer rudely rejected. Portugal was wedded to the eastern route. Columbus was compelled, therefore, to seek assistance in other quarters. Receiving, as might have been expected, no better encouragement from Genoa and Venice, he turned now (1484) to Spain and England. While Columbus went to the Spanish court at Cordova, his brother Bartholomew was sent to England to enlist the sympathy and aid of the English sovereign. It is said that Bartholomew fell into the hands of pirates in the British Channel, and his mission was necessarily postponed. Securing his freedom shortly after, he returned to Portugal, went upon the famous voyage of Dias to the Cape of Good Hope, and upon his return, once more sought the English king, Henry VII., in London (1488) in the interests of his brother. He explained his brother's plans with the aid of a chart or "seacard," which he had prepared after Toscanelli's map.

Henry gave ear to Bartholomew and doubtless profited by the review of the proposed enterprise, and is reputed to have sent for Christopher. The latter, however, was hopeful of success in Spain and remained at Cordova. Henry's caution and parsimony caused him to refrain for the present from any such maritime undertaking, and it was not until the news of Columbus' landfall had been given to the world, that England was stimulated to do likewise.

The year 1492 was an important landmark in the history of Spain, and as a landmark it was twofold Not only does this year mark the beginning of the epoch when the sway of Spain was to extend over two continents; but on the other hand, it stands for Spanish unity, the restoration and consolidation of the provinces of Spain under dominion of the joint sovereigns, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, and the removal from Spain of the last of the Moors, who for seven long centuries had been a thorn in the flesh of the native inhabitants.

At the beginning of the eighth century, the Saracenic power invaded Spain, destroyed the kingdom of the West Goths, and made a bold bid for the conquest of Europe only to be permanently checked by the Frankish chieftain, Charles Martel, at the Battle of Tours in 732. The remnants of the Gothic kingdom took refuge in the Austurias, in the hills of Northern Spain, and abided their time. The Germanic spirit of the native population was not stunted, but gathered courage and strength, finally descended upon the plains of Northern Spain, emerged into the kingdom

of Leon in the tenth century, and in the next four centuries gradually drove before them the enervated Mohammedans, first beyond the Douro and then beyond the Tagus. By the close of the thirteenth century we find the Moslems confined within their luxurious quarters in the Province of Granada.

Spain, however, was divided among a number of rival provinces until the middle of the fifteenth century, when these were absorbed by either Castile or Aragon. The marriage, October 19, 1469, of Isabella, heir of Castile, to Ferdinand of Aragon, united the dominant factions and promised union and prosperity for Spain. The Moorish empire was now reduced to the Province of Granada "within a circuit of 120 leagues and its center the city of Granada of 200,000 inhabitants;" a city whose grandeur of architecture and luxurious life was not surpassed in any other European capital. "Life," says Prescott, "was one long carnival, and the season of revelry was prolonged until the enemy was at the gate."[1]

This was an age of bigotry, and Spain under the rule of Ferdinand allowed herself to be given over to the terrors of the Inquisition. The luckless Jews were the first objects of Spanish oppression. What a misfortune for Spain! "The fires of the Inquisition which were lighted exclusively for the Jews, were destined eventually to consume their oppressors."

The Spanish next turned upon the Moors, and after a long struggle lasting ten years, the fall of Granada marked the extinction of the last remnant of the

[1] Prescott—Ferdinand and Isabella, I, 292.

Moorish empire in Spain. On the second of January, 1492, the cross and the standards of Castile were upon the towers of the Alhambra. Columbus had sought the assistance of the Spanish sovereigns at a time (1484) when they were in the midst of war. He received no encouragement at first, but in less than four months from the conclusion of the war, Columbus was vested with authority for his expedition. The discovery of America elevated Spain at once to the first rank among the countries of Europe, and prepared the way for the magnificent empire of Charles V.

Spain also had strong rivals in England and France, and when Columbus, Cabot and their followers, on behalf of these countries, made the ocean the highway of commerce, Italy and the Mediterranean were stripped of their maritime glory.

The year that marked the doom of Constantinople, likewise closed the hundred years' war between France and England. England lost all her continental possessions save Calais, but both countries retired from the struggle stronger and more united than before. The feudal nobility was rapidly disintegrating in both countries. In England, this process of decay was completed by the Wars of the Roses which followed immediately thereafter, and which concluded with the accession of the Tudor sovereigns who laid the foundations of the modern British empire. In France, on the other hand, the power of the feudal nobility was completely crushed with the defeat of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, at the Battle of Nancy (1477), and thereupon was begun by Louis XI. the

era of French absolutism which was destined to reach its highest development under Louis XIV. Spain and England were now in alliance to check the pretensions of the French, nevertheless England and France were both eager to share in the fruits of Spain's discoveries.

In those days when the Pope at Rome was regarded as the head and mainspring of the Christian world, the papal sanction was accorded a weight and deference which only an understanding of the temporal and spiritual sway of the church in medieval times can explain. Portugal had at an early date received papal confirmation of her discoveries in the southern Atlantic, and seemingly a grant of Pope Eugenius V. had given Portugal "the Indies." When the news of Columbus' discovery burst upon the world, a conflict between Portugal and Spain seemed inevitable. Ferdinand of Spain immediately appealed to the lord of the spiritual universe, and would-be head of the temporal universe, Pope Alexander VI., for a grant confirming Spain's claim to her new discoveries. The Pope responded with the papal bull of May 3, 1493, by the terms of which, he "gave and graunted to the Kynges of Castyle and theyr successours the Regions and Ilandes founde in the weste Ocean sea by the navigations of the Spanyardes." The jurisdiction of all the lands and islands that might be found west of the meridian one hundred degrees to the west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands, was to be given to Spain in return for the efforts of the latter on behalf of the Christian faith in those countries and the Catholic faith in her own. To Portugal was left by implication

the islands and lands east of this meridian (Africa, etc.). Thus was the undiscovered world divided between two rival powers by a vague and unscientific line of demarcation. The terms of the papal bull were improved upon by Portugal in the following year, when, by the treaty of Tordesillas between Spain and Portugal, the line of demarcation was moved westward to three hundred and seventy leagues from the Azores, which resulted in giving to Portugal, as later developments proved, the territory of Brazil, the choicest portion of South America.[1]

JOHN CABOT, THE DISCOVERER OF NORTH AMERICA.

England felt in nowise bound by the papal bull of Alexander VI., which divided the unknown world between Portugal and Spain. England's geographical isolation and Teutonic spirit had from the earliest times given her a degree of independence in things temporal, which would brook no foreign or papal interference. This principle of the supreme authority of the English sovereign who knew no earthly overlord was gradually and firmly established by precedent and statute, and the permanent separation of the English church from the Church of Rome was an event which in the natural course of things could not be long delayed.

In Bristol, the famous seaport town of southwestern England dwelt a school of mariners who, like that school of Prince Henry's at Sagres, were more or less familiar with the ocean, who had heard of the mys-

[1] June 7, 1494.

terious islands of the Atlantic, who traded in the fisheries of Iceland and who from time to time went upon voyages of discovery "in search of the islands of Brazil and the Seven cities." Among their number settled one John Cabot, coming thither from Venice to engage in commerce. About this man and his family not much is known. He was a Genoese, if we are to accept the conclusions of Mr. Harrisse; born somewhere in the neighborhood of 1451; his Italian name, Zuan Gaboto.[1]

Is it not significant that Genoa, herself a pioneer in discovery, should be the place from which sprang those remarkable descriptions of Cathay and Zipangu by Marco Polo which so profoundly influenced Toscanelli; that it should be at the same time the birthplace of the two greatest discoverers, Christopher Columbus, who gave his life to Spain, and John Cabot, who gave his to her greatest rival, England?

John Cabot had become a naturalized citizen of Venice and probably did not leave the city of his adoption before 1476. He was a practical seaman, fond of adventure, and doubtless, like Columbus, had a knowledge of ancient and medieval cosmography. He was probably acquainted with Toscanelli or at least with his views regarding the practicability of a western route to Asia, for they were contemporaries and Cabot was in Venice, when Toscanelli wrote his famous letter in 1474 to the king of Portugal and to Columbus. He is said to have visited Mecca and to have heard from the eastern caravans stories of the

[1] Variously written and called Cabot, Caboote, Cabotto, Cabota, Gabote, Kabotto, Tabot, etc.

land of spices in the far East, which filled him with a desire to visit those regions. We are told also that he, like Columbus, visited Portugal and Spain in quest of aid for a voyage of discovery. Our authority for this is Pedro de Ayala, adjunct to Dr. Puebla, the Spanish ambassador to England at the time of the discovery.

It was in 1491 or earlier that we find Cabot and his family (a wife and three sons) settled at Bristol, and encouraging the sending out of vessels from that port bent on discovery. He was probably attracted to this center of trade and adventure with the hope of gain and with the conviction that but little encouragement would be extended to the enterprising voyager in his native land. In England Cabot acquired a great reputation for skill as a navigator, but little else is known with certainty about him. He was profoundly influenced by the knowledge of the success of Columbus which quickly reached him. Of that at least we are reasonably sure.

England and Spain were at this time on good terms, and a marriage alliance was soon arranged between the two royal families which tended still further to cement their friendly union.[1] But England, with enterprise in the acquisition of new territory characteristic of her people, determined also to enter the field of discovery. Henry VII. was now ready to listen to the proposals of Cabot. In 1496, March fifth, John Cabot and his sons, Lewis, Sebastian and Sanctus filed with Henry the following petition : —

[1] The marriage of Catharine of Aragon to Prince Arthur of England, and later to his brother, Henry VIII.

"To the Kyng our Sovereigne lord. Please it your highnes of your most noble and haboundant grace to graunt unto John Cabotto citizen of Venes, Lewes, Sebestyan and Sancto his sonneys your gracious letters patentes under your grete seale in due forme to be made according to the tenour hereafter ensuying. And they shall during their lyves pray to God for the prosperous continuance of your most noble and royale astate long to enduer."[1]

The grant which they prayed for and a draft of which probably accompanied the petition, was made the same date. The purposes and prospective rewards of the Cabots are set forth in the grant, or "Letters Patent of King Henry VII." They were given leave to sail with five ships to all countries, seas, etc., of the east, west, and north,[2] and "upon their owne proper costs, and charges, to seeke out, discover and finde whatsoever isles, countries, regions or provinces of the heathen and infidels whatsoever they be, and in what part of the world soever they be, which before this time have bene unknowen to all Christians." . . . It was further provided that one-fifth of the net gains of their enterprise should accrue to the king.

On the twenty-eighth of March Spain protested through her ambassador, Puebla, against the design of Cabot, but too late. Cabot, who was to provide his own equipment and pay his own way, thereupon made preparations for the voyage, which was not begun until the spring of 1497. He was reminded by the "Letters Patents" of Henry's wish to keep clear of the track of Columbus in the south, and was doubt-

[1] Harrisse—John Cabot, p. 46.

[2] Notice the omission of "south," which is to be accounted for by England's desire not to trespass upon the discoveries of Spain.

less acquainted, through the Icelanders, with the voyages of the Northmen and had probably heard of Greenland and Vineland. In consequence, John Cabot in his single ship, the "Matthew" with its crew of eighteen from Bristol,[1] followed in the wake of the Northmen, and hoped that he might find a northwest passage to Cathay, a shorter cut, it may be, than that which Columbus was thought to have discovered. It was in pursuit of this plan that Cabot reached finally, on June twenty-fourth, as recorded, what afterward proved to be the eastern coast of the continent of North America.

Interesting accounts of this voyage were given in letters written by Lorenzo Pasqualigo to his brothers in Venice under date of August 23, 1497, and by Raimondo di Soncino, agent of the Duke of Milan, to his government on the twenty-fourth of August, being only a few days after the return of Cabot to England.[2] These contemporary documents are the chief source of our knowledge of the landfall of John Cabot.

[1] Not with "five ships," as authorized in the "Letters Patent," and probably unaccompanied on this first voyage by his son Sebastian.

[2] In a letter of Raimondo to the Duke of Milan under date of December 18, 1497, we find the following extracts of an account of Cabot's discovery together with some specimens of the delightful naiveté of the narrator: —

Perhaps among your Excellency's many occupations, it may not displease you to learn how his Majesty here has won a part of Asia without a stroke of the sword. There is in this kingdom a Venetian fellow, Master John Caboto by name, of fine mind, greatly skilled in navigation, who seeing that those most serene kings, first he of Portugal, and then the one of Spain, have occupied unknown islands determined to make a like acquisition for his Majesty aforesaid. And having obtained royal grants that he should have the usufruct of all that he should discover, provided that the ownership of the same is reserved to the crown, with a small ship and eighteen persons he committed himself to fortune; and having set out from Bristol, a western port of this kingdom, and passed the western limits of Hibernia and then standing to the northward he began to steer eastward (this is probably an error for "westward") leaving (after a few days) the North Star on his right hand; and having wandered about considerably, at last fell in with *terra firma* where, having planted the royal banner and taken possession on behalf of this King, and taken certain tokens, he has returned thence. The said Master John, as being foreign-born and poor, would not be believed if his comrades who are almost all Englishmen and from Bristol did not testify that what he says is true. This Master John has the description of the world in a

Cabot had returned to Bristol by August 5, 1497, and became at once the object of much attention and curiosity. It is said that people followed him on the streets; that he dressed in silk and fine raiment, etc. Henry VII., who reaped the benefit of Cabot's expedition at no cost to the crown, rewarded the brave mariner with the munificent sum of ten pounds sterling, a gift, as the king's account book shows, "to hym that founde the new isle." This was given to Cabot as Pasqualigo intimates, with which "to have a good time." In the following December (1497), John Cabot was given a pension of "£20 per annum during the royal pleasure" and this sum was made a charge on the customs of the port of Bristol.

In a contemporary play, known as the "Four Elements," we find in verse a description of the newly discovered continent, which pictures the strange coasts according to the information about them then

chart and also in a solid globe which he has made, and he [or the chart and the globe] shows where he landed, and that going toward the east he passed considerably beyond the country of the Tanais. And they say that it is a very good and temperate country, and they think that Brazil-wood and silks grow there; and they affirm that that sea is covered with fishes, which are caught not only with the net but with baskets, a stone being tied to them in order that the baskets may sink in the water. . . . And what is more, the King here, who is wise and not lavish, likewise puts some faith in him; for (ever) since his return he has made good provision for him, as the same Master John tells me. And it is said that, in the spring, his Majesty aforenamed will fit out some ships, and will besides give him all the convicts, and they will go to that country to make a colony, by means of which they hope to establish in London a greater storehouse of spices than there is in Alexandria; and the chief men of the enterprise are of Bristol, great sailors, who, now that they know where to go, say that it is not a voyage of more than fifteen days, nor do they ever have storms after they get away from Hibernia. I have also talked with a Burgundian, a comrade of Master John's, who confirms everything, and wishes to return thither because the Admiral (for so Master John already entitles himself) has given him an island; and he has given another one to a barber of his from Castiglione-of-Genoa, and both of them regard themselves as Counts, nor does my Lord the Admiral esteem himself anything less than a Prince. I think that with this expedition there will go several poor Italian monks, who have all been promised bishoprics. And, as I have become a friend of the Admiral's, if I wished to go thither I should get an archbishopric. But I have thought that the benefices which your Excellency has in store for me are a surer thing; and therefore I beg that if these should fall vacant in my absence, you will cause possession to be given to me, taking measures to do this rather [especially] where it is needed, in order that they be not taken from me by others, who because they are present can be more diligent than I, who in this country have been brought to the pass of eating ten or twelve dishes at every meal, and sitting at table three hours at a time twice a day, for the sake of your Excellency, to whom I humbly commend myself.

current in England. The date of its appearance was somewhere between 1500 and 1520, and the author evidently knew little of the course of discovery outside of England. The following description of the new discoveries occurs: —

This sea is called the Great Ocean.
So great it is that never man
Could tell it, since the world began,
Till now these twenty year.
Westward he found new landys
That we never heard tell of before this,
By writing nor other meanys,
Yet many now have been there.
And that country is so large of room,
Much lenger than all Christendom,
Without fable or guile:
For divers mariners have it tried,
And sailed straight by the coast side,
Above five thousand mile.
But what commodities be within
No man can tell, nor well imagine.
. . . . . .
O what a thing had been then
If that they that be Englishmen
Might have been the first of all
That there should have taken possession,
And made first building and habitation,
A memory perpetual!
And also what an honourable thing,
Both to the realm and to the King,
To have had his dominion extending
There into so far a ground,
Which the noble King of late memory,
The most wise prince the seventh Herry,
Caused first for to be found!
O what a meritorious deed,
To have the people instructed
To live more virtuously,
And to learn to know of men the manner
And also to know God their maker
Which as yet live all beastly!

For they nother know God nor the devil,
Nor ever heard tell of heaven or hell,
Writing, nor other scripture:
But yet, in the stead of God Almight,
They honour the sun for his great light,
For that doth them great pleasure.
Building nor house they have none at all,
But woods, and cots, and cavys small,
No marvel though it be so,
For they use no manner of iron,
Neither in tool nor other weapon,
That should help them thereto:
Copper they have the which is found
In divers places above the ground.
Yet they dig not therefore,
For, as I said, they have none iron,
Whereby they should in the earth mine,
To search for any more.
Great abundance of woods there be,
Most part fir and pine-apple tree,
Great riches might come thereby,
Both pitch and tar, and soap ashys,
As they make in the East Landys,
By brenning thereof only.
Fish they have in so great plenty,
That in havens taken and slain they be
With staves withouten fail;

. . . . . .

Further on we find some allusion to Asia or "India:" —

But eastward, on the sea side,
A Prince there is that ruleth wide,
Called the Can of Catowe:
And this is called the Great East Sea,
Which goeth all along this way,
Toward the New Lands again:

. . . . . .

But from these New Lands men may sail plain
Eastward and come to England again,
Where we began erewhile.[1]

[1] Payne—p. 239, N. i.

Thus, the second great explorer to see the new land was, like Columbus, an expatriated Italian. "There is nothing more striking in the history of American discovery," as Winsor points out, "than the fact that the Italian people furnished to Spain, Columbus; to England, Cabot; and to France, Verrazano; and that the three leading powers of Europe, following as maritime explorers in the lead of Portugal, who could not dispense with Vespucius, another Italian, pushed their rights through men whom they had borrowed from the central region of the Mediterranean, while Italy in its own name never possessed a rood of American soil."[1] Italy lacked in collective effort what she made up for in the development of individualism. She was distracted with foreign wars and civil strife, and her valleys became the battleground of the great European powers, France and Spain, by whom she was parceled and absorbed.

But time works great changes in the destinies of nations. To-day, Spain, the discoverer and earliest colonizer of the new continent, does not own a square mile of territory in either North or South America, and is now threatened with the loss of what she still retains in the West Indies. On the other hand, France, who once disputed the possession of North America with England, is not much better off than Spain.

England was slow to profit from the discoveries of the Cabots. Her merchant marine was very inferior, and her friendship for Spain forbade her for a time

[1] Winsor—Columbus, p. 33.

from trespassing upon the fruits of Spanish discovery. It was sixty years and more before the first native English explorer ventured to the new world. Germany was occupied with the Reformation, the spiritual outcome of the Renaissance, and kept out of maritime exploration. In 1533, Henry VIII. cast off his Spanish queen, Catharine of Aragon, and with her, England's friendship for Spain. With the accession of Elizabeth England becomes the dominant Protestant power in Europe and lays the foundations of her maritime supremacy.

In the meantime, Cortez and Pizarro had poured the treasures of the new world into the lap of Spain. But what did it profit Spain? Her gain was only temporary. Failing to build up her industries and instead, driving the Moors, her most industrious people, from the kingdom; attempting to coerce the Dutch as well as her own subjects to abjure their faith and consciences, Spain thus lost her wealth and her honor, and three centuries have not sufficed to restore them. At the close of the sixteenth century, therefore, we find Protestanism and tolerance on the one hand, arrayed over against Catholicism and despotism on the other. The defeat of Philip's Spanish Armada in 1588 sealed the fate of Spain, and there had dawned an important day for the destiny of America. England now pressed forward in the work of colonizing the new continent.

Moreover, France had not been idle. Francis I. the rival of Charles V. and his Spanish empire, revived the quest for the northwest passage to Cathay, and

in 1524 sent out the Florentine, Verrazano, on a voyage of discovery. He coasted along the North American seaboard, provii g its continuity, and France afterward based her claim to the North American continent upon this discovery. Unfortunately for France, however, European entanglements during the eighteenth century kept her forces divided and prevented her from offering adequate resistance to the English policy of colonial extension in America. "New France" became English soil.

. . . . . .

We have examined the forces that contributed to the real discovery of America and the wonder is that the New World was not revealed at an earlier date. I think, however, we have also seen how ill-prepared Europe was for an earlier discovery. Indeed, after the discovery the process of adaptation and colonization was similarly slow. It was not until 1607, that the first English colony was planted in America. We had reached the middle of the eighteenth century before the Alleghany Mountains were crossed and the pioneer settlements of our great West were begun; and in 1792, three centuries after the discovery, the United States had a population of only about four million, the bulk of which was confined to the narrow strip of land between the Atlantic ocean and the Appalachian range. Columbus and Cabot had revealed a New World, and had changed the course of the Old; but they both died unconscious of the magnitude or value of their discoveries. They builded better than they knew.

The study of their achievements is a lesson to us. How apt the definition of Thucydides: "History is philosophy teaching by example." How much of history is embodied in the lives of our great men. There is inspiration in the contemplation of them. There are still about us worlds to conquer, and science affords us numerous fields for exploration. The ingenuity of man has not yet revealed all the powers and forces of the earth. Little did Stephenson realize the vast importance of his invention when he constructed the first locomotive; nor did Gutenberg with his movable types, nor Morse with his first telegraph instrument, realize the full value of their contributions to the world's knowledge. Europe was as slow in realizing its great obligation to Columbus and Cabot, and both came to their end with little recognition, and no reward. It has remained for posterity to supply the meed of recognition.

The Maine Historical Society is to be congratulated upon its efforts to honor the event and the man. Would that this recognition might be more generally accorded, and find expression in some more permanent memorial than words of praise for a noble deed. As a rule, we have been slow to acknowledge our appreciation of great events. Congress was one hundred years in erecting a monument to commemorate the day that sealed our independence. Let us profit by the example of the Greeks and Romans, and be ever ready, in columns and arches to give visible expression to our gratitude for the land we live in and its discoverers and makers.

THE CARTOGRAPHY OF THE PERIOD.

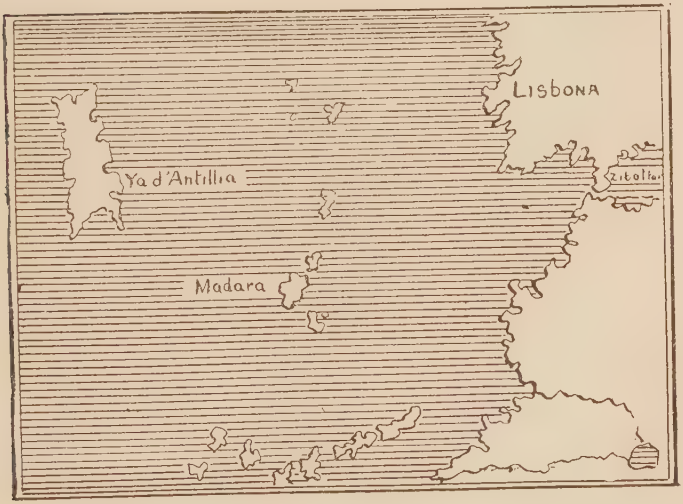
BY REV. HENRY S. BURRAGE, D. D.

THE cartography of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, recording the results of the explorations and discoveries of the period, furnishes a fascinating field of investigation. For thirteen centuries, that is from the second century to the fifteenth, the geography of Ptolemy had held supreme sway. But from the beginning of the fifteenth century, for one hundred and fifty years, we have maps which indicate the growth of the new geographical ideas that found currency in this remarkable period.

So far as is known, the earliest map on which is found any part of the continent of America is the so-called sea chart of the Zeni brothers, Venetians, drawn it is supposed at the beginning of the fifteenth century, or about the year 1400, but not published until 1558. The map seems to have been in use by subsequent navigators and discoverers. Frobisher, it is said, had the Zeni map as a guide on his well-known voyage. It was copied by distinguished cartographers and so became helpful to progress in geographical knowledge. Estotiland and Drogeo, from their position, are plainly portions of the American Continent.

The map of the Zeni brothers records the results of northern exploration. In the south, maritime discovery, especially on the part of Spanish and Portuguese

Map of Zeni Brothers, about 1400.



Map of Andrea Bianco, 1436.

voyagers, and Genoese in the service of Portugal, added to the cartography of the period the nearer islands of the Atlantic and also portions of the African coast. The well-known map of Andrea Bianco, made in 1436, and preserved in the Biblioteca Marciana at Venice, represents the islands of the Atlantic, which had been reached by such adventurous voyagers.

The most prominent figure in the work of exploration in the first half of the fifteenth century was Prince Henry of Portugal. Especially was he interested in the exploration of the African coast, and his vessels early in the century made their way along its shores in the hope of passing its southern extremity, each season adding to the geographical knowledge already gained. In 1441, his ships had passed Cape Blanco; in 1445, the Gambia was reached; and in 1446 the Rio Grande. In 1457, by order of his sovereign, Alfonso V., Prince Henry sent to Venice the maps he had secured from the captains of his ships, entrusting them to Fra Mauro, who with the assistance of Andrea Bianco, combined the discoveries they recorded in a large map of the world — the well-known Fra Mauro mappemonde, 1459.

Prince Henry died November 13, 1460. A few years later, the work of discovery on the African coast had been extended to Sierra Leone and beyond Cape Mezurada. The better knowledge of the African coast gained in these and subsequent years is indicated on Martin Behaim's globe, constructed at Nuremberg in 1492. Behaim, a well-known German

astronomer and cosmographer, went in 1479 from Nuremberg to Lisbon, where for awhile he devoted himself to the improvement of nautical instruments, and later accompanied some of the Portuguese discoverers in their voyages along the coast of Africa

Fra Mauro's World, 1459.

and to the Azores. Behaim shared the views of Columbus as to the feasibility of reaching India by a western route. A map, constructed in 1474, by Toscanelli, a learned Italian astronomer, and sent by him to Columbus, has not come down to us. Toscanelli's

letter, which accompanied the map, however, has been preserved, and from it we learn that the map did not differ materially from the globe of Behaim.

The following is Doppelmayer's engraving of the Behaim globe much reduced.

Behaim's globe gives no indication of a continent west of Europe and Africa and east of Asia. Shortly after the voyages of Columbus and Cabot, however, in the cartographical documents of the sixteenth century, the existence of such a continent comes into clearer and clearer view. The first map in which the results of the recent discoveries in the new world by Spanish and Portuguese voyagers were embodied is that of Juan de la Cosa,[1] in the year 1500. La Cosa was a Spanish navigator, who accompanied Columbus on his second voyage to the west in 1493-96. Subsequently he commanded several exploring expeditions to America, and in 1500 compiled his large map, of which several copies probably were made. The map, however, disappeared, and its reappearance in connection with the researches of Alexander von Humboldt dates from the year 1832, when it was found by the great German scholar in the library of Baron Walckenaer, in Paris, bearing the inscription, "*Juan de la Cosa la fixo en el Puerto de sta Maria en ano de*

[1] "Juan de la Cosa, the most famous pilot and cartographer Spain could boast of in those days, was, as his surname 'El Vizcaino' indicates, a native of Biscay. He lived at Seville and at the Puerto de Santa Maria at least since 1492; and he must have been influenced by the profession, action and methods of his countrymen, if he was not himself — which it is difficult to believe — one of the promoters of cartography and nautical science at Cadiz. His famous planisphere, constructed in one of the Andalusian seaports during the year 1500, certainly conveys to us an adequate notion of the process and projection adopted then, and of the first steps of the Sevillan hydrography, which was destined to play such an important part in the scientific development of the discoveries achieved by Columbus." Harrisse's "Discovery of North America" Vol. I, p. 256.

Doppelmayer's Engraving of Behaim's Globe, 1492

1500" (Juan de la Cosa made it in the port of Saint Mary in the year 1500.[1]

The next map, the Cantino planisphere of 1502, represents continental regions distinct from the Asiatic continent and in the neighborhood of Cuba. The Duke of Ferrara desired to obtain a map which should give the results of transatlantic discovery; and having expressed this desire to Alberto Cantino, the Duke's envoy to the court of Portugal, the latter ordered the map from a cartographer in Lisbon. The general appearance of the map indicates that its author made no use of Cosa's chart, but compiled it from entirely independent sources, recording discoveries made not only by Columbus but by other voy-

Cosa's Map of 1500.

[1] Walckenaer found this map in a bric-a-brac shop in Paris, during the cholera epidemic of 1832. After his death it was sold to the Spanish government for 4000 pounds, and is now on exhibition, framed, in the Naval Museum at Madrid.

agers subsequent to 1492. Harrisse mentions sixty-six expeditions to the new world between 1492 and 1504.

The next important map, discovered not long ago in the archives of the hydrographical department of the navy at Paris, bears no date, but is a Portuguese

CANTINO PLANISPHERE, 1502.

map with the inscription, "The work of Nicolas de Canerio, Genoese," and is regarded by Harrisse as having been made not more than two years later than the Cantino map, or in 1504.[1] In this map the eastern coast line of the new world is carried considerably farther north, while there is a prolongation of the

[1] The caligraphy is that of the beginning of the sixteenth century.

coast southward eighteen degrees. At both extremities appears the standard of Castile and Leon, indicating either Spanish discovery, or Spanish possession, and possibly both.

CANERIO MAP OF 1504.

A chart in the royal library at Munich, bearing the inscription "*Pedro Reine la fez*" (Pedro Reinel made it) and showing Portuguese discoveries, is regarded by Kohl as having been made in Portugal by Reinel, a distinguished Portuguese pilot, as early as 1505. The

part which Kohl gives includes a portion of the coast of Newfoundland. Cape Race appears as Cavo Raso, the flat cape. The English, who did not understand the meaning of the Portuguese designation, changed the designation subsequently to Cape Race, the name which it still bears. The entire coast is covered with Portuguese names given by Portuguese discoverers or fishermen.

MAP BY PEDRO REINEL, CIR. 1505.

We now come to the map which Johannes Ruysch, a distinguished German traveler and geographer, published in Rome in 1508 in connection with an edition of Ptolemy's geography. It is the first engraved map on which any parts of the new world were published. The Portuguese origin of Ruysch's geographical data is clearly proved from a comparison of the nomenclature of Ruysch's map with the names inserted on the northwest continental land in both the Cantino and

Canerio maps, both of which are Lusitanian.[1] Of thirty-six names on Ruysch's map not one is found in the Cosa map, or in any other map of Spanish origin.

On the Ruysch map the northern part of North America is represented as a part of Asia.[2] South America is "The land of the Holy Cross," but as only partially known. Of the west coast Ruysch professes to know nothing. "*Huc usque nantae Hispani venerunt,*" (so far came the Spanish navigators). On this map, according to Kohl, the island of Cuba is represented as a peninsula, and so part of a larger

MAP BY JOHANNES RUYSCH, 1508.

[1] It was from one of these that he derived the blunder by which he made of "*A baia de todos Sanctos*" (All Saint's *Bay*), "*Abatia omnium Sanctorum*" (All Saint's *Abbey*), found in a Lusitano-Germanic map, the work of a northern cartographer, who had read the Latin version of the four voyages of Vespuccius (1507) in which occurs "*Omnium Sanctorum abbatiam,*" while all the Spanish maps have "*Baya de todos sanctos.*" Another proof of the Portuguese origin of the map is to be found in the legend with which Ruysch designated South America—"*Terra Sancte Crucis.*" No such designation was given by the Spaniards to this region. The Portuguese, however, gave it this name. See Harrisse Vol. II, pp. 302, 303.

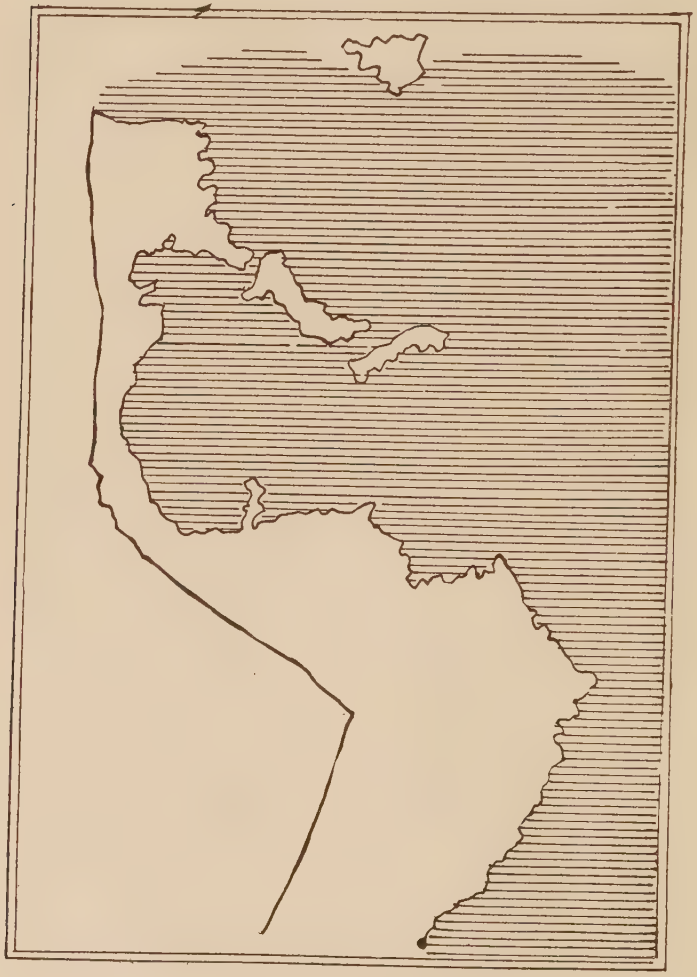
[2] Justin Winsor infers from what Beneventanus (who wrote the text and explanatory notes of the map) says, that Ruysch was a companion of Cabot in his initial voyage. Christopher Columbus, p. 341.

country as Columbus at first supposed. Harrisse, on the other hand, claims that while a strict interpretation would make of the peninsula nothing but Cuba, in reality, the absence of an island between the northwestern coast and Hispaniola must be ascribed either to an oversight, or to a late innovation introduced by Ruysch on his own responsibility.

A map added to the *Introductio in Ptholomei Cosmographiam* of Johannes de Stobnicza, printed at Cracow in Poland in 1512, shows a still further advance in geographical knowledge, in that it presents a continuous coast line from fifty degrees north, to forty degrees south, latitude, uniting the North and South American continents. It also delineates the western coast of the new world. Some writers have claimed that Stobnicza's map is the first which represents the world on two hemispheres; but according to Harrisse Jaune Ferrer, as early as 1495, sent such a map to Ferdinand and Isabella, which unfortunately has been lost. The names on the Stobnicza map are supposed to have been derived from a Lusitano-Germanic prototype, and are found on the Cantino, Canerio and other Portuguese maps. The Asiatic coast on Stobnicza's map is that of the globe of Martin Behaim.

The unbroken eastern coast line of the new world appears also in Waldseemuller's map, which was added to an edition of Ptolemy published at Strasburg in 1513. Waldseemuller held the chair of cosmography in the Vosgian gymnasium at St. Diey, and as an accomplished cartographer he was selected to prepare the maps for this edition, a work for which he was

especially well qualified, since as early as 1507 he had prepared a map of the new discoveries in the west. This map was engraved, but so far as is known not a single copy is now in existence. It is hardly probable that a copy of Stobnicza's map had fallen into the hands of Waldseemuller and his associates at St. Diey. It is much more likely that the Lusitano-Germanic



Stobnicza's Map, 1512.

map which Stobnicza used was also used by Waldseemuller. The nomenclature is the same as in Canerio, the spelling is identical and the latitudes are similar.

MAP BY WALDSEEMULLER, 1513.

While the union of North and South America had thus early been recognized by some geographers, there were others who continued to represent the two continents as separated by a strait. This is noticeable on the globe (still one of the prized possessions of Nuremberg) which Schoner constructed in 1520, at the request of a wealthy patron, Johann Seyler. North

America on this globe appears as a large island, showing that either Schoner was unacquainted with the discoveries that proved the union of the two continents, or that he was not inclined to accept the reports of these discoveries. Indeed Kohl calls the globe "a new edition of Behaim, with the addition of the newly discovered islands." On this globe the name America is given as the designation of South America, and the same name appears as the designation of South America on the Hauslab gores,[1] which Harrisse says were engraved on wood, probably at Strasburg, in the first decade of the sixteenth century.

SCHONER'S GLOBE, 1520.

Also in the map of the monk Franciscus, 1526, a strait separates North and South America. A strait likewise separates the two continents on the Maiollo map of 1527.

A still further reaction in map making is also noticeable about this time with reference to the representation of the North American continent. From

[1] The only copy is in the collection of Prince Lichtenstein at Vienna.

MAIOLLO MAP, 1527.

the time of the great discovery by Columbus in 1492, for a quarter of a century, there was among geographers a growing conception of the fact that a new continent had been discovered. The growth of this conception is clearly indicated upon the maps and globes of this period. But in the map of the monk Franciscus, in 1526, North America is represented as Eastern Asia; also in the map of Orontius Finæus,

1531, on the Nancy globe of about 1540, and the globe of Gaspar Vopel of 1543. The map of Orontius Finæus will sufficiently illustrate this reaction.

ORONTIUS FINÆUS, 1531.

But with the continued progress of discovery the strait separating North and South America disappeared, and the fact that a new continent had been found was fully conceded. The innumerable islands, with which the cosmographers of the period following the discovery by Columbus filled the space between Europe and Africa on the one side, and Asia on the other, also disappeared. Those who had regarded the newly discovered regions in the west as the eastern coast of Asia abandoned the idea. It is true that still there was much in the geography of the new world that was crude, but in the gores made by Mercator in 1541, we not only have North and South America correctly represented in their general features, but the name America is applied to both parts of the western hem-

isphere. Much remained to be done by later cartographers, but the great facts were now everywhere accepted.

MERCATOR, 1541.
[Sketched from his gores.]

THE LANDFALL OF CABOT AND THE EXTENT OF HIS DISCOVERIES.

BY PROF. WILLIAM MACDONALD, PH.D.

Few questions in American history present greater difficulties or more uncertainty than the determination of the landfall of John Cabot and the extent of his discoveries. The records of Cabot's first voyage, if records there were, are lost, and in their place we have only second- and third-hand accounts of his achievements, and maps well adapted to mislead the very elect. It can hardly be necessary for me to disclaim any right to speak with authority on the topic which has been assigned to me; and even if I had the right, neither the time nor the occasion would allow a discussion of the many minute points which the inquiry would involve. I shall aim, instead, to give you a summary statement of the results arrived at by those scholars who have made most exhaustive examination of the whole subject, and whose labors have produced a considerable body of literature, now more or less available.

We need not dwell upon the details of John Cabot's early life. The date of his birth is unknown, but he was probably born in or near Genoa, from whence he removed to Venice, where he became a naturalized citizen on the twenty-eighth of March, 1476, "after the usual residence of fifteen years." He removed to

England with his family about the year 1490, and may have been, as Mr. John Fiske conjectures, "one of the persons who were convinced at that time by the arguments of Bartholomew Columbus." If, as seems likely, he took up his residence at London, he must have been brought into close contact with the busy maritime life of England, a life in which his early studies and travels had fitted him to participate.

On the fifth of March, 1496, John Cabot and his three sons filed a petition to the king, Henry VII., praying for the grant of letters patent. The petition was granted on the same day, and gave to Cabot and his sons "full and free authority, faculty, and power of navigating to all parts, countries and seas of the east, west, and north, under our banners, flags and ensigns, with five ships or vessels of what burden or quality soever, and with as many mariners or men as they will have with them in the said ships, upon their own proper costs and charges: to seek out, discover, and find whatsoever islands, countries, regions, or provinces of heathens or infidels, in whatever part of the world they be, which before this time were unknown to all Christians." [1] There is no documentary proof that Sebastian Cabot accompanied his father on this first voyage,[2] nor that more than one vessel sailed on the expedition.[3]

As was said at the beginning, Cabot's own records of this voyage have not survived; three short documents, however, have come down to us, the facts of

[1] Hakluyt Society Publications, 1893; pp. 197, 198.
[2] Harrisse, John Cabot, pp. 48 *seq.*
[3] Harrisse, loc. cit., pp. 50, 51.

which purport to have been furnished by Cabot himself. The first is a letter from Lorenzo Pasqualigo, a merchant living in London, to his brothers at Venice, dated at London, 23d August, 1497; the second is a despatch from Raimondo di Soncino, envoy of the Duke of Milan to Henry VII., to the Duke, dated at London, 24th August, 1497; the third is another dispatch from Soncino to the Duke of Milan, dated at London the 18th December, 1497. I will read the relevant passages from these documents before trying to show what can be made out of them.

The letter of Pasqualigo runs as follows: —

> Our Venetian, who went with a small ship from Bristol to find new islands, has come back, and says he has discovered, 700 leagues off, the mainland of the country of the Gran Cam, and that he coasted along it for 300 leagues, and landed, but did not see any person. But he has brought here to the king certain snares spread to take game, and a needle for making nets, and he found some notched trees, from which he judged that there were inhabitants. Being in doubt, he came back to the ship. He has been away three months on the voyage, which is certain, and in returning, he saw two islands to the right, but he did not wish to land, lest he should lose time, for he was in want of provisions. . . . He says that the tides are slack, and do not make currents as they do here.[1]

In the first despatch of Soncino we read: —

> Some months afterwards His Majesty sent a Venetian, who is a distinguished sailor, and who was much skilled in the discovery of new islands, and he has returned safe, and has discovered two very large and fertile islands, having, it would seem, discovered the seven cities 400 leagues from England to the westward.[2]

[1] Hakluyt Society Publications, 1893, pp. 201, 202.

[2] Ibid, p. 202.

Four months later, in his second despatch, Soncino writes that John Cabot: —

> Having obtained royal privileges securing to himself the use of the dominions he might discover, the sovereignty being reserved to the Crown, he entrusted his fortune to a small vessel with a crew of 18 persons, and set out from Bristol, a port in the western part of this kingdom. Having passed Ibernia, which is still further to the west, and then shaped a northerly course, he began to navigate to the eastern [western] part, leaving (during several days) the North Star on the right hand: and having wandered thus for a long time, at length he hit upon land, where he hoisted the royal standard, and took possession for this Highness, and, having obtained various proofs of his discovery, he returned. . . . And they say that there the land is excellent and (the climate?) temperate, suggesting that brasil and silk grow there. They affirm that the sea is full of fish, which are not only taken with a net, but also with a basket, a stone being fastened to it in order to keep it in the water.[1]

Casting these accounts into more modern phraseology, and combining the facts comprised in the various statements, we get the following information. Cabot sailed from Bristol, passed Ireland, and thence followed a northerly and westerly course, with the North Star to the right. After sailing either four or seven hundred leagues he found land. The land was excellent, the climate temperate, and the tides did not rise as high as at Bristol. The sea was full of fish. Cabot coasted along this new-found land for three hundred leagues, seeing no inhabitants, but concluding, from the presence of notched trees, that inhabitants there were, and bringing back with him, moreover, some snares for taking game, and a needle for making nets.

[1] Hakluyt Society Publications, 1893, pp. 203, 204.

He saw, besides the mainland, two islands on the right. He returned to Bristol by August 23, 1497, after an absence of three months.

Stated in another form, our problem, then, is this: given a few sailing directions from which nearly every element of definiteness is absent, and a meager description of the country applicable to any part of the North Atlantic coast, to find the landfall of Cabot and the extent of his discoveries. That conclusions characterized by some degree of definiteness, and accepted with essential unanimity by some eminent scholars, have been drawn from such scanty data, may well be instanced as one of the triumphs of modern historical scholarship.

From an early time the coast of Labrador was regarded as the portion of the continent first seen by Cabot. Not until 1544, however, do we find a map purporting to show the locality of the landfall. The Cabot map of 1544 places the landfall "on the extremity of a large peninsula on the northeast coast of the New World," the spot having attached to it the words, "*prima tierra vista*," the first land seen. The eighth legend on the map repeats this, beginning with the words, "This land was discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, and Sebastian Cabot, his son." Notwithstanding very inaccurate drawing, the map doubtless intended to indicate, as the first land seen, the northern part of the island now known as Cape Breton. On the authority of this map, and of the statement of Pasqualigo that Cabot followed the coast for three hundred leagues, and found the tides "slack," Mr.

Frederic Kidder has constructed a chart showing the route followed by Cabot around the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and has shown that the difference in the rise and fall of the tides there "is small as compared with what Cabot had been used to in Bristol."[1] There seems to be good reason for classing this hypothesis, for it is little more, with others of a similar nature, of which the most that can be said is that they would be very important if true. A little reflection, however, will, I think, show what appears to be a great improbability in Pasqualigo's statement. Pasqualigo, as you will recall, states, in the passage read from his letter to his brothers, that the mainland discovered by Cabot was seven hundred leagues away; that is, it was fourteen hundred leagues there and back. To this is to be added three hundred leagues of coasting. Now we know that at that time it was the custom of vessels exploring new regions to sail only in the daytime, anchoring at nightfall, and even when under sail, captains proceeded slowly and with great caution. If we accept Pasqualigo's account in detail, we must believe that Cabot, with one small ship of the rude form in use four hundred years ago, succeeded in sailing nearly seven thousand miles in the space of ninety days, nearly one-sixth of the distance being along a strange and dangerous coast, regarding whose waters he had neither knowledge nor chart. To be sure, we cannot say positively that Pasqualigo was mistaken, nor can we explain away his statements, perhaps, with entire satisfaction; we can only decline to base positive

[1] New England Historical and Genealogical Register (October, 1878), xxxii., 381, cited by Deane, in Winsor, iii., 55.

conclusions on grounds which seem to imply improbability and impracticability.

Both the letter of Pasqualigo and the first despatch of Soncino mention the discovery of two large islands, besides the mainland. The one depicted on the Cabot map has been thought to be the present Prince Edward Island; if so, it is much out of position. Mr. John Fiske calls attention to the fact that on the Cabot map "Newfoundland does not yet appear as a single mass of land, but as an archipelago of not less than eleven large islands, with more than thirty small ones." The Cabot map, it should be remembered, was not made until forty-seven years after Cabot's first voyage, and its delineations are not of primary importance for the present purpose. Mr. Henry Harrisse has shown, conclusively as it seems to me, that the map is in exact contradiction of statements made regarding the landfall by Sebastian Cabot, and that the legends and delineations on the map are based, not on the discoveries of Cabot at all, but on those of Cartier in 1534 and 1536. This Cabot map, you will remember, locates the landfall on the northern part of Cape Breton Island, and so eminent an authority as Deane gives it as his opinion that there is no good reason why this should not be accepted as correct. It is, however, contrary to the earlier indication of Labrador as the "first land seen," and Mr. Harrisse has adduced evidence and argument tending to make it still less probable. There is no time to follow him in detail, and I am sure that you would not listen to me long were I to attempt it. I shall give, therefore, only a summary of his argument.

We are told, in the second despatch of Soncino to the Duke of Milan, that Cabot set out from Bristol, and after passing Ireland, sailed first in a northerly and then in a westerly direction. Speaking roughly, Ireland lies between the 51st and 55th parallels of north latitude. Whether Cabot went up around the north of Ireland, or sailed due west from Bristol Channel, thereby clearing the southern coast, we are not told; but we are told that after passing Ireland he sailed to the north and then to the west. There is no mention of his having altered his course so as to sail south, on either the outward or the homeward voyage; moreover, the letters patent given by the king gave no permission to sail to the south, probably from a desire to avoid all danger of collision with Spain. It does not seem to strain matters very much, then, to infer that the 51st parallel marks a limit south of which Cabot did not go. If he sailed around the south of Ireland, as certainly it seems very probable that he would have done, we may well doubt if he again reached a point as far south as the 51st parallel; for he sailed, we are told, north and then west. We know something of the ways of seamen in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and of the methods of navigation. It was a common practise, in making long voyages out of sight of land, and particularly the transatlantic voyage, to run for a certain parallel, and then follow that. The parallel selected was very likely to be the one nearest the destination. Now of course we do not know beyond peradventure that Cabot sailed in this particular way; but we do know

that he was an experienced seaman, and that as such he would be rather more than likely to follow the practise of seamen of his day. Had he, in conformity to the usual custom, followed the 51st parallel, he would have found land on the extreme northern part of Newfoundland, near the straits of Belle Isle — *on the modern map;* on the Cabot map, however, the landfall is five degrees further south. But as we have seen that Cabot sailed north after passing Ireland, before sailing west, there is no reason to suppose that the 51st parallel was the one he actually followed; which is another way of saying that the landfall must be sought farther north than Newfoundland.

It would seem, then, that we can be reasonably certain regarding the point at which Cabot did *not* first see land, and that we can even go further and say that the landfall was at some point on the coast of Labrador. Beyond this, however, we cannot be so certain. The descriptions of the country are so meager, and so little characteristic of any particular region on the North Atlantic coast, as to afford no help of themselves in determining the landfall. One point, however, remains to be noted, from which some valuable indications may be derived.

Both Pasqualigo and Soncino state explicitly, as has been said, that Cabot saw, besides the mainland, two large islands. According to Pasqualigo these islands were seen on the return voyage, and lay to the right. If we can identify these islands without discarding the other conclusions previously reached, we may hope to attain results having a considerable degree of probability. Mr. Brevoort, accepting Pasqualigo's statement,

thinks that Cabot followed around the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and home by way of the Straits of Belle Isle. If this was Cabot's route, then one of the two large islands seen on his right would doubtless have been Newfoundland, and the other either Prince Edward Island or Cape Breton. We have already seen, however, the difficulty in the way of thinking that the landfall was as far south as Newfoundland, and even if it was, any large islands seen would more likely have been on the left than on the right. On the other hand there are no large islands on the coast of Labrador until one reaches the entrance of Hudson's Strait. What are we to conclude? or are we at liberty to draw any conclusion, or even to venture an hypothesis? Mr. Harrisse, who locates the landfall on the Labrador coast, thinks it probable that Cabot, after sighting land, followed the coast to the north for a while, and then, turning south, sailed home by way of Newfoundland. In that case the two large islands on the right, seen on the homeward voyage, would be in reality parts of the eastern coast of Newfoundland, which, as we know, is so deeply indented that the promontories might easily be mistaken for islands. We have already seen that the charts of the time invariably represent Newfoundland as an archipelago, and in no instance as a single island of great extent.

As I said at the beginning, I disclaim anything like expert knowledge of this particular subject. I accept Mr. Harrisse's hypothesis because it seems to me to be reasonable, and because somewhat extensive examination of the literature of the subject has failed to disclose a better one, or one which seems to me to

remove as many difficulties or explain as many contradictions. That it is more than a reasonable and probable hypothesis even Mr. Harrisse himself does not claim.

To sum up this brief discussion: The landfall of Cabot was very probably somewhere on the coast of Labrador, and the extent of his discoveries embraced a portion of that coast and the eastern coast of Newfoundland. More than this I do not think can be safely asserted. Whether the landfall is to be located at or near Sandwich Bay, or whether Cabot followed the Labrador coast as far north as Cape Chudleigh, at the entrance of Hudson's Strait, we do not know, and I am unable to see anything in the documentary sources that can help us to find out. It would be gratifying, of course, if we could mark the spot as precisely as Plymouth Rock marks the landing-place of the Pilgrims; but we cannot do this in the case of Cabot.

It must have seemed to John Cabot an inhospitable region, this strange and new Labrador coast. No man appeared to welcome him on the morning of the twenty-fourth of June, 1497, nor did he ever know either the nature or the extent of the new world he had discovered, and little dreamed of the honor that after times would pay to his achievement. But he was the first Englishman, the first man of our race, to set foot on the North American continent; and although he did not find the treasures of spices and precious stones which his fancy pictured, he did, we may trust, on his second and final voyage, come to a golden city, though by the way of a watery grave.

THE VALUE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF CABOT'S DISCOVERY TO THE WORLD.

BY PROF. JOHN S. SEWALL.

CABOT builded better than he knew. His dream was India, the land of spices and gems, the Eldorado of the East, opulent with all precious things. He was ready to brave the mystery of unknown seas to reach that golden strand. What he found instead was an uncouth continent, stretching its rugged length from pole to pole, its lonely shores hoarsely echoing the surges of the great Atlantic, its hills and valleys shrouded in somber woods, its denizens wild beasts and savage men. No populous cities, no marts of trade, no bustling harbors alive with swarming fleets, no costly argosies passing and repassing along the paths of the seas.

It was a bitter disappointment. To search for the rich empires of the Orient, and stumble upon an infinite wilderness! Well might it check the ardor of the most romantic adventurer. And had not the young mariner been well endowed with the enterprise of the age and the bold spirit of his profession, he would doubtless have given over the quest and concerned himself no longer with such ungracious results. But whatever his personal emotions, the discovery was made. The secret of the new world was out. Europe learned of the great land lying fallow under

western skies, waiting for the beginnings of a career. What that career might be must depend on what races should gain possession, and whether their old-world civilization could be adjusted to the crude conditions of the new.

Imagine for a moment that Cabot had somehow found a western route to the Orient; that the oceans had opened their gates wide to his progress, and no barrier had blocked his way to the treasures of the East. Who can doubt the sordid effect? What a crusade of avarice would have started from every European port. What squadrons of caravels and galleons would have plowed their way through storm and night in the headlong race to gather the glittering spoils. Look at poor Spain, as a forlorn object-lesson, set to teach the nations the debasing and debilitating effect of this mode of using the discoveries and opportunities of the world.

But this was not to be. Europe was spared the temptation. Instead, she was confronted with a problem; a problem more perplexing than ever history had yet propounded to the race. Cabot had found and laid at her feet an unused continent; what could she do with it?

Let us first of all record our gratitude to the Ruler of nations that the discovery of America by the Northmen was not followed by a permanent occupation. The voyage of Leif Ericson to Vinland the Good was in the year 1000. What ideas and what materials could Europe then furnish for the building up of a new country?

The Northmen themselves were semibarbarians at the time, a brave and brilliant people, but not inventive, not endowed with creative genius, not the people who could handle a wild continent, and start on it a new civilization of their own. Europe, too, was in a state of ferment. Russia was a heathen land; so was Prussia; so was Northern Sweden. Spain was in the grasp of the Moors, who were just then at about the climax of their golden age, in literature, learning and art. Other Moslem hordes were ravaging the coasts of Christendom, and so were the fierce vikings of the North. In England the Saxon dominion was in its death-grapple with the Danes, and presently both Dane and Saxon were to be overturned together by the Norman conquest of 1066.. Wars everywhere; Christianity corrupt; home life semibarbarous; mechanical arts of the crudest sort; printing not even invented till four centuries later; books and schools unknown to the masses; ignorance universal and dense; darkness visible; and to crown the whole, all Christendom in a panic from the belief that the year 1000 was to witness the general judgment and the end of the world.

Plainly Europe had her hands full, and was in no condition to enlist in any such enterprise as taming a wilderness and planting a nation. She was not sufficiently civilized herself. And the experiment at such a time and with such materials would have been disastrous. If the occupation of the Northmen had been permanent, and the gates of the continent being open, other adventurers had swarmed across the seas,

Saxon, Teuton, Latin, Celt, and perchance Saracen and Slav, uncultivated, unkempt, semipagan, with few conveniences for life and rudimentary tools for labor, we can imagine how slowly civilization would have crept upward in such a raw and mongrel mass, thrown together in a wilderness, where everything must begin *ab initio*, and every attempt be put at hazard by savage foes. Fortunate for America, and for you and me, that in the interval so much of the more brutish part of the population of Western Europe was drained off in the other direction by the Crusades; and fortunate too that the rest were subjected to so many courses of divine education. So the Northmen sailed away to their fiords, and America slept again.

When the fulness of time was come, and European eyes again looked on these forgotten shores, the world had had five centuries more of training. It had grown out of its rough cubhood, and was well on its way toward a rational manhood. The Norman conquest had reconstructed England, and leavened the brawny Saxon temper with finer aptitudes. Under the banners of religion the Crusades had gathered vast pilgrim mobs, which, like ocean surf, had beat against the distant walls of Turk and Saracen, and had melted away in the vain struggle. Magna charta had laid the foundations of liberty, and the people of England were rising into consciousness of their power and possession of their rights. Feudalism had relaxed its iron grasp on land and serf. Chivalry no longer sent its gentle knights errant "pricking o'er the plain" in quest of holy grail or in defense of maid forlorn.

The art of printing had put books and schools within reach of prince and peasant. The Reformation was already seething, not only in cloister and court, but in the hearts of the masses who heard Wyclif or read Langland. The one hundred and fifteen years struggle of England with France, which had scarred and decimated four generations of combatants, and had burned at the stake the saintly peasant Joan of Arc, finally flickered and expired in the total loss of France, in 1451.

Constantinople had fallen before the simitar of the "unspeakable Turk," and that had driven a blessed rout of scholars and manuscripts pell-mell into Northern Italy, and that had given a tremendous impetus to the Renaissance just then gathering headway. The conquest of Northern Italy by Charles VIII. of France, in 1494, threw open the gates to the hungry scholars of the North. English students flocked to the new schools, and brought home with them new inspirations and larger possibilities of civilization. The great universities, catching the spirit, sweetened the air with the fragrance of the new learning. Such poets as Dante, Petrarch, Chaucer, Ariosto, such artists as Michael-angelo, Titian, Raphael, had passed in splendid procession across the stage, or were still living to inspire and uplift the race. And last to be named, but not least in its civilizing power, the spirit of invention was abroad: the compass was in use to guide commerce on the sea; powder and guns drove out the ancient crossbow and lance, and made war less brutal and bloody; such homely conveniences as pumps

were invented, clocks came into use, post-offices set the people to the novel pastime of letter writing ; the methods of husbandry and the tools for labor were getting improvements undreamed of before; and numberless other comforts and contrivances were making life easier and less dreary.

It was no longer medieval Europe, brilliant, superstitious and filthy, superb in its tournaments, gorgeous in the trappings of its kings and cardinals and horses, yet ever and anon swept by the Black Death because of its undrained streets and its foul-smelling homes ; it was no longer medieval Europe, scholastic, hoydenish and barbaric, quarrelsome and convivial, devout and unclean, endowed with the earnestness of the sage and the pranks of the buffoon ; it was a new era, shaking itself free from the past, and emerging into the larger conditions of the modern world.

To this new generation, so much better conditioned for the task than any previous age could have been, comes the bewildering gift of a whole other hemisphere. It was quite unconscious of the magnitude of the gift or of the problem it involved. So far from proceeding by some orderly plan, the ultimate settlement of this western world came to be the sport of private adventurers, under most heterogeneous and conflicting charters from ignorant popes and kings. And yet as we look back and read the story we can trace the touch of a divine hand in even the blunderings and mischances and bankrupt experiments of which poor America was the innocent victim. There was a divine purpose in it all.

We may congratulate ourselves then that it was a northern ship, with a northern crew, that struck these shores; a hardy and tempered race, not to be daunted by either labor or suffering, not to be repulsed by stormy seas, or shaggy forests, or rockbound coasts; an advance guard of the right metal to herald the sturdy pilgrims and settlers of a later day. It was not chance nor accident that a westerly course should take them, not to the warm regions of the South, but straight from Bristol to Labrador. They found these northern shores. They came to a climate bracing and vigorous, not tropical and enervating; to a land indented with spacious harbors and channeled with rivers whose banks bristled with lumber, and whose water-power, unvexed by dams and mills, ran tumbling and foaming and frolicking toward the sea; a land whose soil and granite hills, and mines of iron and coal, invited labor and promised reward. They found, not a continent of gold, nor India's coral strand, but a glorious chance for work. What the world needed was not more revenue for crowns and thrones, nor more luxury and pleasure and tinsel for the rich, but more space and more food for the masses of the poor. The New World came to the rescue of the Old with its exhaustless fisheries and its areas of grain from the boundless prairies of the West. And already four centuries have transformed the dreary scene upon which the Cabots looked into a splendid landscape of farms and villages and cities and mills, all tenanted by a nation of busy producers; a continent

of value to the world infinitely greater than if it had been stocked with mines of gold.

We look for the worth of a country, however, in its people rather than in its mere physical formation. The wild tribes of North America were not indeed a stock to be proud of. The noble red man was not a pattern of domestic virtues, nor did he yearn to be civilized. He preferred scalps to religion, and sometimes after a victory over his enemies made assurance doubly sure by eating them. But a better race was on the way.

If the Cabots themselves were from Italy, their crews were hardy men of the North. And the first colonists who ventured into these wilds through the gates they opened were of much the same type, bold, rough-and-ready men. The stream of migration ever since has been largely of the same honest sort. Though occasional cargoes of nondescript and unsavory rabble have been unloaded on these shores, in colonial times as well as through Castle Garden, yet in the great conglomerate of peoples who make up our Western republic, the Anglo-Saxon type dominates all the rest. And there is strength in the combination of diverse elements. History shows that the great events of the world, and the great leaders, come not ordinarily from the people of practically pure blood — from the Eskimo, e.g., or the North American Indian, from the Lapp, the Finn, the Chinaman or the Turk. A great nation is the resultant of countless combinations, stretching through whole cycles of the past. The Englishman is what he is because his

island, his language, his literature, his history, his personal physique, have been molded and remolded by the successive intermixtures of ancient Silurians, Celts, Romans, Saxons, Angles, Jutes, Danes, and finally the Normans, with a dash of blood from almost every other quarter of the globe. Our American history begins with the Englishman thus produced. And modified by the new environment, by conflict with strange and often hostile conditions, and by his cosmopolitan mingling with all other peoples who visit his shores, the original colonist has been quietly absorbing into his constitution some invigorating element from them all. We may modestly claim that the type has at least not been weakened in the process.

To the nation thus auspiciously gathered, other disciplines have been constantly ministering. War is a heavy taskmaster, as some of us are old enough to know by experience; yet at its bloody hands both England and America have learned some useful lessons. Labor is another teacher, not so cruel, yet stern and exacting; and the steady pressure of necessity, the monotony of regular hours, the conscious creative capacity, the fellowship and sympathies of toil, and often the quality of the task itself, have helped to develop not only skill, but often patience, sobriety, manhood. Life itself is a consummate disciplinarian; a great expounder of ethics; and with all manner of shaping-tools it sets itself to the task of molding us all, in order to renovate and uplift the individual and society, and develop a national charac-

ter that shall be worthy and therefore permanent. And still further, we are the heirs of the Christianity of our fathers; the Christianity which transformed our pagan ancestry into a civilized people, which developed the Anglo-Saxon hovel into a Christian home, and lifted those murdering ravaging tribes into peaceful industrious citizens; a Christianity which does not confine itself to mere rudimentary work, but reaches out into the widest influences of culture and science, and utilizes and regenerates the finest sentiments of the reason and the heart.

Thus it would seem that on this Western continent the divine plan was superintending a fresh experiment in the growth of national character. And emancipated as we are from so many of the trammels and traditions of the Old World, and trying our mission under conditions so novel, so different from theirs, and in many ways so auspicious, it would be to our lasting dishonor if we do not as a nation rise to the height of our opportunity, if we do not grow in those lines of probity, justice, and national righteousness, which were in the promise and potency of our origin, and which are pressed upon us by every motive of our religion.

A similar obligation lies upon us in our political life. The New World which the Cabots found opened a refuge to all who were ill-used by the hard conditions of the Old; who were victims of its poverty, or oppressed by its tyranny. They crossed the sea for room to live, as well as for freedom to worship. The forms they left behind were kingdoms, empires, auto-

crats, a landed aristocracy, systems of social caste. How much of these moss-grown antiquities should they import into their new life? They left palaces and found wigwams; they escaped from scepters and crowns and found themselves confronted with the slack and slipshod democracy of barbaric tribes. Which should they copy? The courts of Europe or the savage Mohawk, Algonquin, Iroquois?

When the Hebrews fled from Egypt, though under a leader trained in the court of Pharaoh, and saturated with Egyptian knowledge and Egyptian methods, he and they erected a new government at a world-wide remove from the tyranny they had escaped. When the Norman barons of England lost their possessions in France, and were forced to look upon their island estates as their home, it gave them a new interest in England and in the development of England, and of English liberty and law.

Our American colonists were not unmindful of such examples. Beginning with a strong affection for the home of their childhood, and a sincere loyalty to its ancient conditions, their new life trained them away from the Old World. The very spirit of independence and self-reliance which sent them across the sea made it impossible for them to carry their bondage with them. A fresh arena, unencumbered by any hindrances from the past, gave the English race a fairer chance and a freer hand to work out its destiny. And so the new conditions grew into new institutions. Given the elements of the situation as we can now trace them, it was inevitable that the hardy settlers

who cleared these western forests and subdued this rugged continent should breathe liberty with every inspiration of this bracing clime; and renouncing monarchy and all its pomp should march steadily forward to a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." If it could be said of Britain eighteen centuries ago, as it was said by the first Roman geographer, "Britain produces people, and kings of people," it may be declared of our Western Republic that America produces people, and makes her people kings.

But let it not be a mere apothegm. If our country has a mission in the world it is twofold,— to achieve a national character, and to complete a national type. We have had the one opportunity of all history, of taking a new continent and erecting upon it a new nation, with a new method of government. Nothing could excuse our appropriating the happy hunting-grounds of our predecessors and setting up an improved régime before whose unpitying progress they must fade away, if we do not make this continent do more for the rest of the world, if we do not make the world so much the better for our usurpation. It is our high duty therefore, and should be our ambition, to make our Republic a model government, worthy to be an example to the nations by the justice and equity of its rule, by the private virtue of its citizens, and by the unselfish use of its power in the world.

PROCEEDINGS.

March 11, 1897.

A meeting of the Society was held in the library, Baxter Hall, Portland, and was called to order at 2.30 P. M. by the President, Mr. Baxter.

A paper entitled Some Letters of Richard Cutts, an early member of Congress from Maine, was read by Rev. Dr. Burrage.

Mr. George A. Emery of Saco read a history of Thornton Academy, Saco.

Comments on the papers were made by Mr. E. P. Burnham, George F. Emery, Rev. Dr. Dalton and George F. Talbot.

Mr. George F. Emery read a paper on the Colonial Laws of Massachusetts.

Adjourned until evening.

Called to order at 8 P. M., President Baxter in the chair.

Rev. E. C. Cummings read a paper contributed by Mr. George W. Chamberlain, on Captain John Chamberlain and the Indian Chief Paugus, heroes of the Pequawket fight at Fryeburg, in 1725.

Remarks on the paper and the various traditions concerning the fight, were made by the President, also by Dr. S. C. Gordon, a native of Fryeburg.

The President called attention to the fact that the seventy-fifth anniversary of the organization and first

meeting of the Society occurs next month, and recommended that a banquet be held in the evening of the tenth *proximo*, and appointed the following as a committee of arrangements : — A. F. Moulton, Nathan Goold, H. W. Bryant.

The customary votes of thanks were passed for the papers read, and copies were requested for the archives.

Adjourned.

April 10, 1897.

The following notice having been sent out : —

1822. 1897.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Portland, Me., 25th March, 1897.

Dear Sir : — The Maine Historical Society propose to celebrate the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of its incorporation and its first meeting, on Saturday, 10th April, 1897, by a meeting for papers and discussions in the afternoon at 2.30, in their Library, and a Dinner at eight o'clock in the evening, at the Falmouth Hotel.

You are cordially invited to be present. Tickets to the dinner, $2.00.

Please respond by return card on or before April 7, to either member of the Committee of Arrangements.

A. F. Moulton.
Nathan Goold.
H. W. Bryant.

The meeting was held in Baxter Hall, and was called to order at 2.30 P. M., by the President.

The Librarian and Curator, Mr. Bryant, read his report of accessions to the library and cabinet.

Rev. E. C. Cummings read abstracts from the diaries of Rev. Isaac Hasey of Lebanon, Maine, of the Revolutionary period, contributed by Mr. George W. Chamberlain.

Rev. Henry O. Thayer read a paper entitled A Harvard Graduate in the Maine Wilderness, the Rev. Josiah Winship at Nequasset.

Remarks were made by Rev. Dr. Dalton and Mr. G. F. Talbot.

Rev. Dr. Burrage read a paper giving some added facts concerning the Baptist Church at Kittery.

Mr. Bryant presented a biographical sketch of the first president of the Society, Governor Albion K. Parris, which was contributed by Mr. A. K. Parris of Washington, D. C.

Adjourned until evening to the parlors of the Falmouth Hotel.

THE BANQUET.

The banquet, which occurred in the evening at the Falmouth Hotel, was an event which will long be remembered by those present as one of the pleasantest in the history of the Society. In the small dining-room a long table was spread, elaborately decorated with potted plants, cut flowers and fruit, and when the doors were thrown open and the banquet hall was disclosed to view, the scene was a very attractive and beautiful one. At exactly eight o'clock President James P. Baxter headed the procession, which filed into the banquet hall, and the members of the Society remained standing while Prof. Chapman of Bowdoin College invoked the divine blessing.

The following gentlemen were present: —

Dr. J. A. Spalding, M. F. King, Albro E. Chase, P. P. Baxter, W. S. Dana, W. H. Stevens, Dr. J. L. M. Willis, Dr. D. W.

Fellows, P. C. Manning, George S. Rowell, L. H. Cobb, Charles H. Boyd, Rev. Henry S. Burrage, Rev. Henry O. Thayer, Fritz H. Jordan, George F. Emery, Gen. John Marshall Brown, George F. Talbot, Thomas E. Calvert, Hubbard W. Bryant, Rev. E. C. Cummings, Ira S. Locke, Oliver G. Hall, Edward A. Butler, Nathan Goold, Henry M. Maling, Stephen Berry, Henry L. Chapman, J. P. Baxter, Augustus F. Moulton, Joseph A. Locke, Dr. Charles D. Smith, Herbert Harris, George D. Rand, Leonard B. Chapman, James M. Larrabee, and H. M. Bigelow.

The following was the menu:—

Blue Points on Half Shell.

Green Turtle Soup.

RADISHES. CUCUMBERS.

Boiled Penobscot River Salmon, with Peas.

SARATOGA CHIPS.

Fillet of Beef, larded with Mushrooms.

WAX BEANS. POTATO CROQUETTES.

Braised Sweet Breads, Financiere.

FRENCH PEAS. DELMONICO POTATOES.

Maraschino Punch.

Broiled Quail on Toast, Bernaise.

Mayonnaise of Lobster.

Tutti Frutti Ice Cream.

Assorted Cakes.

Edam Cheese. Water Crackers.

Coffee.

Cigars.

And at the close Mr. Baxter arose and remarked:—

We have met to commemorate the seventy-fifth birthday of the Maine Historical Society. To the historian, seventy-five years are but an insignificant period of time; but of the notable men who

presided at the birth of the Society, not one is here; their places are occupied by others; their names are unfamiliar, as ours will be when a like period shall have elapsed.

Occasions like this naturally suggest retrospection, but such retrospection is profitless unless we draw therefrom encouragement for future achievement. When this Society came into existence the whistle of the locomotive had not disturbed the silence of the great forests which stretched across the state, nor the paddle of the steamboat vexed the broad waters which washed its shores, and when the members convened in the council chamber to adopt their constitution, those who lived remote from Portland had come out of the tribulation of a journey in a stage coach, which had occupied an entire day in dragging its slow way from Augusta, or two days from Bangor. It required an earnest interest in the objects of the Society to make such a sacrifice of comfort, and furnishes to us an inspiring example.

Of the work of the Society it is unnecessary for me to particularly speak. The many valuable volumes which it has published are a monument which sufficiently testify to its usefulness. What should particularly engage our efforts is to carry forward this work as effectually as it has been carried forward hitherto, and I earnestly appeal to every member of the Society to lend a hand in the good work.

I had confidently expected that our former president, the Hon. James W. Bradbury, would be able to join with us in these festivities. His presence would have indeed been an inspiration to us; but he has deemed it prudent not to expose himself to the fatigue incident to such an occasion. We have with us, however, many members whose pleasant voices and profitable words we are always glad to listen to, and I trust that they will favor us on this occasion.

President Baxter then called upon Gen. John Marshall Brown, who presented the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted: —

The members of the Maine Historical Society assembled in commemoration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of its foundation, desire to express their great regret at the absence of their late president,

the Hon. James W. Bradbury, their high appreciation of his great services to the Society, and their earnest desire for his continued health.

Augustus F. Moulton, Esq., was called upon to read the responses from kindred societies and letters of regret from those unable to be present. Among these was a letter from President Stephen Salisbury of the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Massachusetts, and another from the president of the Essex Institute of Salem, Massachusetts, in which he spoke of Professor Morse as a member of the Institute, "who comes from Portland, the chief city of that noble state which Massachusetts is ever proud to call her child."

Librarian N. F. Carter, of the New Hampshire Historical Society, extended congratulations to the Maine Society, which is one year older than that of New Hampshire.

Letters were also received from President J. P. Hale of the West Virginia Historical and Antiquarian Society, Secretary Charles Evans of the Chicago Historical Society, Secretary Warren Upham of the Minnesota Historical Society, the Long Island Historical Society, Gov. Powers of Maine, Gov. Roger Wolcott of Massachusetts, Judge Joseph Williamson of Belfast, President Nathaniel Butler of Colby University, Rev. Asa Dalton of Portland, William Wirt Henry of Richmond, Virginia, Robert H. Gardiner of Boston, Charles E. Banks of Washington, D. C., Alexander Brown of Norwood, Virginia, Albion K. Parris of Washington, D. C., and Chief Justice Melville Fuller.

Mr. H. W. Bryant, the Recording Secretary, presented the following history of the Society: —

Seventy-five years is a long life for an individual or a society, and it is very meet and right that the anniversary of its birth or organization should be held in remembrance, and that we, the unworthy successors of our eminent founders, should come together and express our gratification that we have lived to see this day. I hold in my hand the original newspaper notice or call for the first meeting of the Society. It reads as follows: —

WHEREAS, the Legislature of this State, on the 5th day of February inst., passed a law entitled "An Act to Incorporate the Maine Historical Society," in and by the fourth section of which it is provided that "Prentiss Mellen, Ichabod Nichols and Edward Payson, or any two of them are authorized to call the first meeting of said society, for the purpose of organizing the same, to be held at such time and place as they may designate, by publishing a notification of such intended meeting, two weeks successively in such of the public newspapers printed at Portland and Hallowell as they may think proper."

THEREFORE, We the subscribers hereby give notice that a meeting of the members of the said Maine Historical Society will be held at the Senate Chamber, in Portland, on Thursday, the eleventh day of April next, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, then and there to act on the following articles, viz: —

1. To choose a President, Librarian, Treasurer, and such other officers as they may think proper.
2. To make and ordain By-laws for the government of said Society.
3. To agree on the mode of calling the annual meeting of said Society.

Dated at Portland this twenty-third day of February, A. D. 1822.

PRENTISS MELLEN,
ICHABOD NICHOLS,
EDWARD PAYSON.

I have also the original record of the first meeting in the handwriting of the first secretary, Edward Russell, Esq., of North Yarmouth, which you also may like to hear: —

At the first meeting of the members of the Maine Historical Society at the Senate Chamber, in Portland, on Thursday, April 11th, A. D. 1822, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, agreeably to the notice published in the newspapers printed in Portland and Hallowell, by Hon. Prentiss Mellen, Drs. I. Nichols and E. Payson,

Present, Gov. Parris, Chief Justice Mellen, Judge Preble, Dr. Nichols, Dr. Payson, Judge Ware, Rev. J. Coggswell, and Edward Russell, Esq.

The meeting was called to order by Judge Mellen, and the members present proceeded to ballot for a president when Gov. Parris was declared elected. Hon. Benjamin Hasey was chosen Recording Secretary, Edward Russell Recording Secretary pro tem, Edward Russell Corresponding Secretary, Hon. Prentiss Mellen Treasurer, and Edward Payson, D. D., Librarian.

Voted, Dr. Nichols, Edward Russell and Dr. Payson be a committee to form by-laws for the future regulation of this Society and report at the annual meeting.

Voted, The Secretary pro tem be requested to give notice of the organization of this Society in the public papers, and add a request that all who are disposed to contribute books, pamphlets or manuscripts which may relate to the objects of the Society, to deposit them with the Librarian.

Voted, To adjourn without day.

Attest: Edward Russell, Secretary pro tem.

What a distinguished little company were first gathered to organize, but I venture to say that they had little knoweledge of history compared with that we have at the present day in the early documents and maps that have been brought to light in late years. The good Dr. Payson, our first librarian, could hardly have foreseen that within the present century there would be gathered together under one roof in Portland fifty thousand volumes. The first volume of the Society's records covers fifty years, from April 11, 1822, to July 11, 1872. During that time, half a century, but seventy meetings were held. From 1872 to the present time, twenty-five years, one hundred and twenty-five meetings have been held.

The Rev. Dr. William Allen, of Bowdoin College, succeeded Gov. Parris as President of the Society. He was perhaps more distinguished as a hymn writer than a historian. He held the office until 1828, and was succeeded by Rev. Dr. Ichabod Nichols. Meetings of the Society were held in the Senate Chamber and in the hall of the Atheneum in Portland up to the year 1836. Early in that year several attempts were made by the Recording Secretary, Rev. Asa Cummings, to secure a quorum for an annual meeting, but without success. February eighth he records that the hour of meeting by adjournment having arrived, the Secretary stood alone and continued to stand till he despaired of being met by any other member of the Society, when he adjourned to such a place as, after consultation,

should be thought most auspicious for securing the presence of a quorum for the transaction of business. The place subsequently fixed upon was the chemical lecture room, Brunswick, the time, September 7, the day of the annual commencement in Bowdoin College, at three o'clock P. M. Stephen Longfellow was President of the Society in 1834, and was succeeded by Justice Prentiss Mellen, who was president from 1835 to 1845.

From 1840 to 1846 was experienced a very quiet time in historic circles at Brunswick, and no meetings were held. In 1846, Robert Hallowell Gardiner was elected President, and a large number of resident members chosen including Mr. Bradbury, whose name heads the list, and is the only one on the list now living.

In 1849, the State Legislature granted the Society a half township of land to aid in the erection of a fireproof building. In 1850, our honored Corresponding Secretary, Judge Williamson, was elected a resident member. In 1856 William Willis succeeded Mr. Gardiner as President. In 1860, record is made that "the room assigned to the Society by the College has been fitted up with glass cases, and all the books of the library have been placed therein, and the number of volumes now on the shelves is 1610, of which 884 are public documents. In August, 1862, occurred the great Popham celebration at the fort at the mouth of the Kennebec River. Owing to the death of the lamented Mr. Willis in 1864, Mr. Edward E. Bourne, the historian of Wells and Kennebunk, succeeded to the presidency, and at his death, ten years later, Mr. Bradbury was chosen President. Owing to the infirmities of age Mr. Bradbury declined reelection in 1889, and was succeeded by Mr. Baxter.

The Society's first volume of collections was published in 1831, and consisted largely of Mr. Willis' first volume of the history of Portland. This volume was reprinted, with additions, in 1865. The second volume was not brought out until 1847. The third, containing the history of Scarboro, was issued in 1853; the fourth in 1856; the fifth in 1857; the sixth in 1859; the seventh in 1876; the eighth in 1881; the ninth in 1887, and the series, completed by volume ten, the index to the previous volumes, in 1891. Since 1890, the Society has issued a yearly volume in quarterly parts. Five volumes have also been published since 1889 as a documentary series, aided by a subscription from the State.

In November, 1880, by a special meeting, the Society voted to remove its library and belongings from Brunswick to Portland. Perhaps it was the same instinct that prompts aged individuals to return to their early homes or the places of their birth. After the removal, and the occupancy of our pleasant quarters in the City Building, many began to knock for admission to the Society, and in 1888 it was voted to enlarge the membership to two hundred. The doors once opened, the majority of the new members seem content to allow the older members to continue to do the work. When the women of our state begin to write history, and ask to be enrolled as members, we may be ready to accommodate them also.

In 1889, the new public library building being completed, we were invited to change our quarters, and here we shall doubtless remain until the way is made clear to occupy a building entirely our own.

Brief remarks were then made by a number of the gentlemen present. Hon. George F. Emery said of the Society, that it has done great public good, and its members have labored from the most exalted of motives, and with the belief that every man owes something to the public. Educated men should interest themselves in historical subjects, and should add their mite to the forwarding of the work which the Maine Historical Society has undertaken.

Hon. George F. Talbot urged the Society's members not only to write history, but to do something in the way of making history. He said that he hoped to see some day an appropriate biography of Maine's statesmen, William Pitt Fessenden and Chief Justice John Appleton, who deserve a place in the history of their state and country.

Rev. Ephraim C. Cummings, Rev. H. S. Burrage, Albro E. Chase, Esq., and Hon. Joseph A. Locke, also spoke briefly of the Society's aims and work.

Adjourned.

Annual Meeting, June 23, 1897.

The Annual Meeting was held in the Searle's Science Building at Brunswick, June 23, 1897, and was called to order by the President at 9 A. M.

Members present were: —

Messrs. C. E. Allen, J. P. Baxter, H. S. Burrage, H. W. Bryant, S. C. Belcher, James W. Bradbury, Henry L. Chapman, E. D. Freeman, E. S. Drake, J. G. Elder, C. J. Gilman, N. Goold, F. H. Jordan, L. A. Lee, G. T. Little, P. C. Manning, H. K. Morrell, J. W. Penney, J. M. Larrabee, I. S. Locke, Marshall Pierce, R. K. Sewall, J. S. Sewall, M. A. Safford, A. R. Savage, P. M. Reed, A. C. Stilphen, E. C. Cummings, G. F. Talbot, C. D. Smith, Josiah Crosby.

Mr. Safford was appointed Secretary of the meeting. The Recording Secretary, Mr. Bryant, read the record of the last Annual Meeting, which was approved.

The annual report of the Librarian was read and accepted.

The annual report of the Corresponding Secretary and Biographer was read by Prof. Little, Judge Williamson being absent.

The report was accepted, to be placed on file.

There was some discussion with reference to biographical notices of deceased members for publication in the Quarterly, as a part of the proceedings of the Annual Meeting, referring to a previous vote of the Society, and it was voted that the Biographer be authorized to call upon members of the Society if necessary in furnishing suitable notices of deceased members for publication.

Mr. F. H. Jordan, as Treasurer of the Society, read his annual report in detail, and called especial attention to the need of the Society of additional income.

The report was accepted, to be placed on file.

The annual report of the Standing Committee was read by the Secretary, Mr. Bryant, and it was accepted.

The Secretary read reports which he had received from the following county historical societies: — The Lincoln County Historical Society, The Sagadahoc Historical Society, The Kennebec Historical Society, The Knox County Historical Society, The York Village Historical Society, and The Eliot Historical Society, also an invitation from the president of the latter Society extending an invitation for the members of the Maine Historical Society to join with the Eliot Society in celebrating the Frost anniversary on the fifth of July next. The Secretary also exhibited specimen sheets of the historical periodical, entitled "Old Eliot," issued as the organ of the Eliot Society, and commended it as a pattern for other county societies to follow in their publications.

President Baxter suggested that some action be taken to solicit from the county societies copies of the papers read before these societies.

Professor Sewall of Bangor spoke briefly concerning the Bangor Historical Society and its work.

On motion of Mr. Safford it was voted that the thanks of the Society be extended to the county and town societies for the reports they had sent in, and that all of the auxiliary societies be requested to fur-

nish this Society with their papers, and that this Society furnish them with its publications.

The question of annual dues to be paid by members of this Society to increase the society's income, was suggested by Mr. Charles J. Gilman, and discussed at length by Dr. Burrage, Messrs. Locke, Stilphen and others.

Mr. Jordan proposed an amendment to the By-Laws, to be voted upon at the next annual meeting, that resident members shall pay an annual assessment of two dollars each.

Voted, That the Secretary be requested to issue a circular requesting members to contribute the sum of two dollars for the present year toward increasing the fund of the Society.

The question of limitation of membership was discussed at length by Messrs. H. K. Morrell, Ira S. Locke, Rev. H. O. Thayer, C. J. Gilman, James P. Baxter and A. C. Stilphen.

The question of the Field Day Excursion was introduced by the President.

Mr. Safford suggested the Isles of Shoals and old York as places of interest and of early history, and it was

Voted, That these places be visited by the Society on an excursion, and the following were appointed a Committee of Arrangements to fix the date for the Field Day, and to prepare the order of exercises: Messrs. M. A. Safford, N. Goold and Dr. J. L. M. Willis.

The election of officers being next in order the President appointed a Nominating Committee, consist-

ing of Messrs. Goold, Penney and Stilphen, who retired, and afterward reported that they had agreed upon the following list of officers for the ensuing year: —

President — Mr. James P. Baxter.

Vice-President — Mr. Rufus K. Sewall.

Treasurer — Mr. Fritz H. Jordan.

Corresponding Secretary and Biographer — Mr. Joseph Williamson.

Recording Secretary, Librarian and Curator — Mr. H. W. Bryant.

Standing Committee — Rev. H. S. Burrage, Portland; Prof. H. L. Chapman, Brunswick; Gen. John Marshall Brown, Falmouth; Hon. Edward P. Burnham, Saco; Hon. Samuel C. Belcher, Farmington; Capt. Charles E. Nash, Augusta; Col. John M. Glidden, Esq., Newcastle.

On motion of the Secretary it was voted that Mr. Goold cast the ballot for the Board so nominated, and did so, and they were declared elected by the President.

Voted to proceed with the election of resident members, and the following persons having been balloted for and unanimously chosen were declared elected :—

Frederick Atwood, Winterport; Edward A. Butler, Rockland; Henry B. Cleaves, Portland; Samuel T. Dole, South Windham; John H. Fogg, Portland; Ivory F. Frisbee, Lewiston; Francis Keefe, Eliot; Seth L. Larrabee, Portland; Sidney W. Thaxter, Portland; Robert T. Whitehouse, Portland.

The following ballot having been prepared for Corresponding Members: —

Prof. William F. Ganong, of Northampton, Massachusetts; Prof. Charles F. Richardson, of Hanover, New Hampshire; Henry Her-

bert Edes, Esq., of Cambridge, Massachusetts; D. S. Alexander, Esq., of Buffalo, New York.

It was voted that Mr. F. H. Jordan cast the ballot, and having done so, they were declared elected as Corresponding Members.

The question of the amendment to Section 4 of the By-Laws was then taken up, and on motion of Mr. R. K. Sewall action upon the amendment was postponed to the next annual meeting.

On motion of Mr. Safford it was voted that a committee of three be appointed by the President to take into consideration the question of erecting a monument or tablet to mark the site of the residence of the elder William Pepperrell and the birthplace of Sir William Pepperrell on the Isles of Shoals. The President accordingly appointed as that committee Mr. M. A. Safford of Kittery, Dr. J. L. M. Willis of Eliot, Mr. F. C. Deering of Saco.

On motion of Mr. Morrell it was voted that a committee be appointed to ask the Legislature to appropriate a sum to be expended by this Society to mark historic sites, within the borders of Maine, at its discretion. Committee to be appointed at the next meeting of the Society.

Voted, That the county and town historical societies be invited to join with this Society in its annual Field Day Excursion.

Voted, To reconsider the vote to postpone action on the amendment to Section 4 of the By-Laws.

And on motion of Prof. Chapman it was voted that the amendment to Section 4 as proposed be passed, and the amendment was declared adopted.

Adjourned to 2 P. M.

At the afternoon session the four hundredth anniversary of Cabot's landfall was celebrated. The following papers were read by their respective authors:—

Introductory: A Brief Résumé of Cabot's Voyages, by Hon. J. P. Baxter. The Old World at the Dawn of Western Discovery, by Prof. J. W. Black of Waterville. The Cartography of the Period, by Rev. H. S. Burrage of Portland. The Landfall of Cabot and the Extent of his Discoveries, by Prof. William Macdonald of Brunswick. The Value and Significance of Cabot's Discovery, by Prof. John S. Sewall of Bangor.

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